



When identities collide: Becoming founders in pastoralist Kenya

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ETHICS CLEARANCE AND DECLARATIONS

ETHICS CLEARANCE

Ethics clearance was obtained from the University of Cape Town's Ethics Committee prior to commencing the proposed research and annually throughout the duration of the study.

Clearance was granted following demonstration that study subjects will not be harmed, they are participating willfully, and they will be protected with respect to anonymity and confidentiality.

Requirements for clearance also included demonstration of permission to conduct the study in Kenya.

DECLARATIONS

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ABSTRACT

There is an increasing number of entrepreneurship initiatives that aim to address extreme poverty, but we know little about how they shape founder identity and how diverse identities shape behavior. Although founder identity is a burgeoning field of study, theory is based primarily on research in developed country contexts. We know little about how founder identities emerge and change, and this gap is pronounced with respect to contexts of extreme poverty. I therefore explore how founder identities emerge and change in contexts of extreme poverty with a longitudinal study in a pastoralist community in Northern Kenya, where business itself is nascent, and impoverished pastoralists are in the early stages of learning basic business concepts. I conduct an inductive, qualitative study of 51 pastoralists over three years. Applying both social identity theory and identity theory lenses, this study identifies extant social and role identities that shape what it means to be a founder, as well as new identities introduced through business education and exposure, which conflict with extant identities. I identify three types of founder identity and develop a model illustrating the process through which they emerge based on varied responses to the identity conflict. Founders either maintain emphasis on extant identities, balance emphasis between some extant identities and some new identities, or transform to emphasize new identities, thus shaping who they become as a founder. When founders deviate from external expectations associated with extant identities, they engage in various forms of external identity work to increase acceptance of new behaviors and expectations and change perceptions of who they are as a founder. I further demonstrate that who one becomes as a founder is regulated by the degree of internalization and importance of extant identities that become part of what it means to be a founder in addition to other social identities held by the founder. My findings contribute to the literature on entrepreneurship in contexts of extreme poverty by providing a more nuanced conceptualization of founder identity in these contexts, including identification of three types of founder identity. I also contribute to both the literature on entrepreneurship in contexts of extreme poverty and founder identity theory more broadly by explaining the process through which founder identities emerge, introducing regulating identities as an explanation for variance in founder identity change, and bringing external identity work to the fore as a key process in founder identity construction and change. My findings also highlight the importance of applying an identity lens to the study of entrepreneurship initiatives in contexts of extreme poverty. I outline future research directions, as well as practical implications for organizations that aim to stimulate and develop entrepreneurship in contexts of extreme poverty through education and access to resources.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	ii
ETHICS CLEARANCE AND DECLARATIONS	iii
Ethics Clearance	iii
Declarations	iii
ABSTRACT	iv
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW.....	6
Chapter Introduction.....	6
Identity Theory.....	6
Social Identity Theory.....	8
Multiple Identities and Identity Conflict	9
Identity Theory and Social Identity Theory in the Study of Founders.....	11
Motivations, Enablers, and Challenges to Adopting and Maintaining a Founder Identity.....	11
Founder Identity Composition and Behavioral Impact from an IDT Perspective	13
Founder Identity Composition and Behavioral Impact from an SIDT Perspective	14
Founder Identity Composition and Behavioral Impact – Bridging IDT and SIDT	17
Founder Identity Composition and Behavioral Impact in Contexts of Extreme Poverty.....	18
Summary and Research Question.....	20
CHAPTER 3: STUDY CONTEXT AND METHODOLOGY.....	22
Chapter Introduction.....	22
Study Context.....	22
Sample.....	26
Study Design and Data Collection	30
Participant Interviews	32
Social Desirability Bias and Researcher Bias	35
Staff Interviews and Field Notes	38
Data Coding and Analysis	39
Phase 1: Pilot Testing Coding Methods	40
Phase 2: Attribute and Initial Coding	42
Phase 3: Exploring Community Member Identity and Businessperson Identity	44
Phase 4: Exploring a Tangent – Institutional Logics.....	48
Phase 5: Deep Dive into Patterns and Changes in Founder Identity Constellations	50
Phase 6: Re-Working the Model and Adding the ‘Why’	55
CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS	58
Chapter Introduction.....	58

Extant Identities	63
Collectivist Social Identity and Social Safety Net Role Identity.....	63
New Identities	66
Sales Manager and Financial Manager Role Identities	66
Bank Borrower Role Identity.....	69
Identity Conflict.....	74
Conflict Between Social Safety Net and Sales and Financial Manager Role Identities	74
Conflict Between Social Safety Net and Bank Borrower Role Identities.....	76
Responses	79
Response: Ranking (extant > new).....	79
Response: Ranking (new > extant).....	80
Response: Reframing	82
Response: Decoupling.....	83
Response: Removing.....	85
Pathways and Outcome Identities	88
Maintaining: The Pathway to becoming a Collectivist Founder	89
Balancing: The Pathway to Becoming a Hybrid Founder	90
Transforming: The Pathway to Becoming an Individualist Founder	93
External Identity Work	96
Explanation as a Mechanism for External Identity Work.....	96
Enforcement as a Mechanism for External Identity Work.....	98
Leveraging Authority Figures as a Mechanism for External Identity Work	99
External Identity Work Smooths the Path for Other Founders	100
Regulating Identities	102
Collectivist Social Identity as a Regulator	102
Curse Believer Social Identity as a Regulator.....	104
Adapted Curse Believer Social Identity as a Regulator	106
Religious Believer Social Identity as a Regulator	107
CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION	111
Chapter Introduction.....	111
Contributions	114
Towards a More Nuanced Conceptualization of Founder Identity in Contexts of Extreme Poverty.	114
A Model of Founder Identity Emergence.....	117
Regulators of Founder Identity Change	119
External Identity Work in Founder Identity Construction and Change.....	125
The Importance of Applying an Identity Lens to Studies of Entrepreneurship Initiatives	126
Study Limitations and Directions for Future Research.....	129
Practical Implications	132

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION	134
REFERENCES	136
APPENDICES	143
Appendix A: Participant Interview Objectives and Questions	143
Wave 0 (May 2016).....	143
Wave 1 (November 2016).....	143
Wave 2 (May 2017).....	145
Wave 3 (March 2018)	146
Wave 4 (February 2019)	148
Appendix B: Example of Pictorial Participant Identity Story	150
Appendix C: Example of Pictorial Participant Identity Analysis	151
Appendix D: Early Model of Identity Interactions, Changes, and Responses	152
Appendix E: Early Model of Entrepreneur Types Shaped by Institutional Logics	152
Appendix F: Example of Founder Identity Chart	153
Appendix G: Early Model of Founder Identity Emergence	154

TABLES

Table 1: Overview of Study Participants	29
Table 2: Summary of Field Visits and Data Collected.....	31
Table 3: Patterns of Participant Availability and Interviews by Wave	36
Table 4: Overview of Final Sample of 25 Participants.....	51
Table 5: Model Elements by Founder for the Exemplary Cases.....	62
Table 6: Extant Identities Among Exemplary Cases	65
Table 7: New Identities Among Exemplary Cases	71
Table 8: Identity Conflict Among Exemplary Cases.....	77
Table 9: Responses to Identity Conflict Among Exemplary Cases.....	86
Table 10: External Identity Work Among Exemplary Cases	101
Table 11: Regulating Identities Among Exemplary Cases.....	109

FIGURES

Figure 1: Marsabit County Location and Images.....	23
Figure 2: Map Showing Data Collection Locations.....	27
Figure 3: Images of Interview Settings	34
Figure 4: Overview of Data Coding and Analysis Phases.....	39
Figure 5: Model of Founder Identity Emergence	61
Figure 6: Generalized Model of Founder Identity Emergence	113
Appendix B: Example of Pictorial Participant Identity Story	150
Appendix C: Example of Pictorial Participant Identity Analysis.....	151
Appendix D: Early Model of Identity Interactions, Changes, and Responses.....	152

Appendix E: Early Model of Entrepreneur Types Shaped by Institutional Logics	152
Appendix F: Example of Founder Identity Chart	153
Appendix G: Early Model of Founder Identity Emergence.....	154

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Identity is a foundational concept that helps explain why people think about and behave in their environments the way they do (Ashforth et al., 2008). As such, identity theory (IDT) (Burke & Stets, 2009; Stryker & Burke, 2000) and social identity theory (SIDT) (Tajfel, 1982, 2010) have become important lenses through which to study founders to better understand who they are and how who they are shapes their behavior and their ventures. IDT views roles, or what one does, as a basis of identity (role identity), whereby people assign themselves and others labels based on the role positions they occupy and incorporate into the self the socially-held meanings and expectations associated with the roles (Hogg et al., 1995; Stets & Burke, 2000; Stryker & Burke, 2000). SIDT views the basis of identity as the social group or category (social identity), whereby one categorizes oneself as being part of a group and embodies the cognitive, attitudinal, or behavioral characteristics of a prototypical group member (Hogg et al., 1995; Stets & Burke, 2000).

The burgeoning founder identity literature identifies numerous motivations to become a founder (e.g. Dencker, Bacq, Gruber, & Haas, in press; Farmer, Yao, & Kung-Mcintyre, 2011; Hoang & Gimeno, 2010; Hytti & Heinonen, 2013; Lewis, Ho, Harris, & Morrison, 2016), as well as enablers and challenges to adopting and maintaining a founder identity (e.g. Hoang & Gimeno, 2010; Jain, George, & Maltarich, 2009; Shepherd & Haynie, 2009). There is also a growing body of work exploring what comprises founder identity and how different founder identities shape founder behavior, from an IDT perspective (e.g. Cardon, Wincent, Singh, & Drnovsek, 2009; Hoang & Gimeno, 2010; Mathias & Williams, 2014), an SIDT perspective (e.g. Alsos, Clausen, Hytti, & Solvoll, 2016; Essers & Benschop, 2009; Fauchart & Gruber, 2011; Hytti & Heinonen, 2013; Zuzul & Tripsas, 2019), and a combined IDT and SIDT perspective (e.g. Powell & Baker, 2014, 2017).

Extant literature suggests that founder identity is dynamic and fluid as opposed to fixed and unchanging (Leitch & Harrison, 2016). As such there are calls for more research into the processes through which founder identity changes and if behavior changes along with it (Alsos et al., 2016; Mathias & Williams, 2017). However, while extant literature provides some indications as to what shapes founder identity (e.g. Essers & Benschop, 2009; Fauchart & Gruber, 2011; Hoang & Gimeno,

2010; Mathias & Williams, 2014; Powell & Baker, 2014) and why founder identities may change (e.g. Cardon, Zietsma, Saporito, Matherne, & Davis, 2005; Fauchart & Gruber, 2011; Powell & Baker, 2017), little is known about the processes through which founder identities emerge and change .

Most prior research on founder identity has been conducted in developed country contexts (e.g. Fauchart & Gruber, 2011; Mathias & Williams, 2014; Powell & Baker, 2014, 2017; Zuzul & Tripsas, 2019). As such, the gap in understanding how founder identities emerge and change is even more pronounced with respect to contexts of extreme poverty where there is surprisingly little research on founder identity. According to the World Bank (2016), hundreds of millions of people continue to live under the current benchmark for extreme poverty, which is less than US\$1.90 per day. One of the solutions proposed to alleviate extreme poverty is entrepreneurship (Bruton et al., 2013), which has led to a greater number of entrepreneurship initiatives by development organizations (Kistruck et al., 2013; London, 2007). However, many interventions have not produced the desired results (Alvarez & Barney, 2014; de Mel et al., 2014; Stenholm et al., 2013). Prior work has examined barriers to entrepreneurship associated with human capital (e.g. Alvarez & Barney, 2014; Berge, Bjorvatn, & Tungodden, 2015; de Mel et al., 2014), financial capital (e.g. Bradley, McMullen, Artz, & Simiyu, 2012; Chliova et al., 2015), formal institutions (e.g. De Castro, Khavul, & Bruton, 2014; Mair, Marti, & Ventresca, 2012; Rivera-Santos et al., 2015), and informal institutions (Slade Shantz et al., 2018). However, few studies apply an identity lens (for exceptions see Masika, 2017; Slade Shantz et al., 2018; Viswanathan et al., 2014), which is surprising given entrepreneurship initiatives seek to stimulate or change founder behavior and SIDT and IDT suggest that perceptions and behavior of founders will be shaped by identity (Callero, 1985; Hogg & Terry, 2000; Stryker & Burke, 2000).

In order to address this important gap in understanding how founder identities emerge and change, particularly in contexts of extreme poverty, this study explores the following question: ***How do founder identities emerge and change in contexts of extreme poverty?***

My study is conducted in a pastoralist community in Marsabit County in Northern Kenya where the concept of business is relatively new and impoverished pastoralists are in the early stages

of learning basic business concepts through development organization initiatives. I identified study participants through engagement with a local independent trust and non-governmental organization (NGO) that were just starting an initiative in the area to alleviate extreme poverty and build livelihoods through business education and access to resources. I identified 51 participants across three locations in Marsabit County to be included in my study, maximizing diversity to ensure key differences could be identified over time (Eisenhardt, 1989).

Due to limited prior research and understanding of processes of founder identity emergence and change, an inductive qualitative research design was deemed appropriate (Edmondson & McManus, 2007). My study design includes one overall case with multiple sub-cases, whereby the individual is the unit of analysis (Yin, 2014) and the study rests on insights and comparisons made across the study participants (Eisenhardt, 1989, 1991; Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007; Yin, 2014). In order to identify changes in identities and behavior over time, as well as the processes through which these occur, a longitudinal study was implemented. This included four field visits over three years, in addition to the initial background field visit. The same participants were interviewed every visit, where possible.

My study emphasizes verbal reports from participant interviews, as well as observation. Additional data sources for context and triangulation include formal interviews with organization staff and an anthropologist, and informal discussions with field staff and local translators, as well as review of anthropological accounts and my own lived experience. In total, data collected include 193 participant interviews ranging from 13 to 104 minutes with an average length of 40 minutes, comprising a total of 3,848 single-spaced transcript pages. They also include 32 staff interviews ranging from 29 to 97 minutes with an average length of 60 minutes, comprising a total of 512 single-spaced transcript pages. Data collected also include an anthropologist interview of 80 minutes, 557 pages of field notes including observational data, 166 pages of personal reflection notes, and 869 pages of anthropological accounts.

Throughout my multiple phases of data collection and analysis, I identified a tension that stood out as being particularly salient, which became core to development of my findings. I found

that as individuals become founders, they experience tension between extant identities salient to who they are as a founder and new identities related to being a founder, introduced through business education and exposure. In-depth exploration of this tension led me to conceptualize it as identity conflict between extant and new identities. I identify five responses to the conflict, varying combinations of which are associated with three distinct pathways of ‘maintaining’ emphasis on extant identities, ‘balancing’ emphasis between some extant identities and some new identities, and ‘transforming’ to emphasize new identities. I also identify three types of founder identity associated with the distinct pathways, which include varying constellations of social and role identities. I therefore explain the process through which founder identities emerge, emphasizing the role of identity conflict and founders’ responses to it in shaping who they become as a founder. In addition, whereas scholars primarily conceptualize founder identity in contexts of extreme poverty as a single broad identity that shapes behavior in a way that prevents growth (e.g. Slade Shantz et al., 2018), my findings provide a more nuanced conceptualization of founder identity in these contexts; identifying different types of founder identity that shape behavior in varied ways.

I further discovered that founders who follow the balancing or transforming pathways engage in ‘external identity work’ (Watson, 2008) to change external perceptions of who they are as a founder as they deviate from extant values, norms, and expectations. External identity work is work an individual engages in, through talk and action, to influence how others see them (Watson, 2008). While existing studies refer to founder talk or action that could be considered external identity work (e.g. Anderson & Warren, 2011; Essers & Benschop, 2009; Powell & Baker, 2014; Zuzul & Tripsas, 2019), my study brings external identity work to the fore in understanding founder identity construction and change and identifies three mechanisms of external identity work, which are explanation, enforcement, and leveraging authority figures.

I also investigated why founders follow different pathways and why some founders shift pathways over time while others do not, which led to the discovery of regulating identities. I found that the pathway a founder follows, and therefore who a founder becomes, is regulated by the degree of internalization and importance of extant identities that become part of what it means to

be a founder in addition to other social identities held by the founder. Prior research suggests that founder identities may change in response to external pressures such as enforcement of a collective identity (Powell & Baker, 2017), requirements from investors (Fauchart & Gruber, 2011), or changing stages of a venture (Cardon et al., 2005). However, a number of these studies also suggest that while some founders adjust their identity, others only partially adjust their identity, while others do not adjust their identity at all under the same conditions. There is little explanation for the variance in founder identity adjustment under similar conditions. My findings explain variance in founder identity change through the introduction of regulating identities, demonstrating their role from both and SIDT and IDT perspective. I also demonstrate that regulating identities can also adapt through education and exposure.

My findings therefore contribute to the literature on entrepreneurship in contexts of extreme poverty by providing a more nuanced conceptualization of founder identity in these contexts, including identification of three types of founder identity based on varied constellations of social identities and role identities. I also contribute to both the literature on entrepreneurship in contexts of extreme poverty and founder identity theory more broadly by explaining the process through which founder identities emerge, introducing regulating identities as an explanation for variance in founder identity change, and bringing external identity work to the fore as a key process in founder identity construction and change. My findings also highlight the importance of applying an identity lens to the study of entrepreneurship initiatives in contexts of extreme poverty to understand micro-level enablers and barriers to entrepreneurship development and possible unintended negative consequences. My findings point to the importance of being aware of and attending to extant identities and potential identity dynamics in the development and implementation of entrepreneurship initiatives in these contexts.

Finally, my thesis also discusses the limitations of my study and identifies a series of important questions for future research, as well as discusses practical implications, particularly for organizations that aim to stimulate and develop entrepreneurship in contexts of extreme poverty through education and access to resources.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

CHAPTER INTRODUCTION

Earlier research on founders focused on identifying their various traits and how they relate to success, such as need for achievement, risk-taking, decisiveness, energy, innovation, anticipation of the future, overconfidence, personal responsibility (McClelland, 1961), and tendencies toward independence and leadership (Hornaday & Aboud, 1971). More recently, scholars have begun to apply ‘identity theory’ (IDT) (Burke & Stets, 2009; Stryker & Burke, 2000) and ‘social identity theory’ (SIDT) (Tajfel, 1982, 2010) to the study of founders to better understand who they are and how who they are shapes their behaviors and ventures. Identity is a foundational concept that helps explain why people think about and behave in their environments the way they do (Ashforth et al., 2008), and IDT and SIDT are two theories under the ‘identity umbrella’, which have differing roots and emphases. This chapter provides an overview of IDT and SDT and reviews their application to the study of founders, both in developed country contexts and in contexts of extreme poverty in developing and emerging economies.

IDENTITY THEORY

IDT has its roots in sociology and is strongly associated with symbolic interactionism, which considers the self to be a product of social interaction (Mead, 1934). Symbolic interactionism asserts that individuals learn classifications, including symbols, and associated behavioral expectations through social interaction, based on which they label themselves and others and internalize expectations with respect to their own behavior, as well as invoke expectations with respect to the behavior of others (Stryker, 1968). Building on symbolic interactionism, IDT views roles, or what one does, as a basis of identity, whereby people assign themselves and others labels based on the role positions they occupy and incorporate into the self the socially-held meanings and expectations associated with the roles (Hogg et al., 1995; Stets & Burke, 2000; Stryker & Burke, 2000). These role identities provide meaning through concrete role specifications, as well as through comparison with complementary roles or counterroles (Hogg et al., 1995). Because role identities include a set of

expectations around behavior, they by definition imply action, which confirms and validates a person's status as a role member (Callero, 1985), and if enacted well will enhance self-esteem and self-efficacy (Burke & Stets, 1999; Hogg et al., 1995).

Two separate, but not unrelated, strands of identity theory have developed that explain the path to behavior, which Stryker and Burke (2000) refer to as structural identity theory and cognitive identity theory. The former examines the relationship between social structure, structure of the self, and behavior, and the latter emphasizes internal self-processes and their relationship to behavior.

Stryker and Burke describe the two as follows:

The former [structural] arrives at behavior by moving from social structures to commitments to relationships through the consequent salience of the identity to behavior. The latter [cognitive] moves from internalized identity standards and perceptions of self-relevant meanings, through a comparison of the two that either verifies or indicates a discrepancy, to behavior that repairs the discrepancy by altering the situation or creating new situations. (p. 288)

An individual can have as many role identities as role positions they occupy, which according to the structural path will be ordered in a hierarchy of salience (Stryker, 1968; Stryker & Burke, 2000). In IDT salience refers to the probability that an identity will be activated in a situation or across persons in a given situation (Stryker, 1968; Stryker & Burke, 2000). A role identity will sit higher in an individual's salience hierarchy and be more closely tied to behavior if it has a higher degree of commitment, which is based on the number and strength of relationships associated with an identity (Hogg et al., 1995; Stets & Burke, 2000; Stryker, 1968; Stryker & Burke, 2000). Two people may have similar role identities but may behave differently in the same situation due to differences in their salience hierarchies (Hogg et al., 1995). While Stets and Burke (2000) note, "the identities at the top of the salience hierarchy are more likely to be activated independent of situational cues" (p. 231), in some situations the extremity of contextual demands may shape behavior rather than identity salience (Stryker, 1968). Thus, behavior will be shaped by an individual's salience hierarchy, based on identity commitment, where extreme contextual demands do not alternatively dictate behavior.

The cognitive path emphasizes the internal mechanisms that drive behavior, with self-verification being the central cognitive process (Burke & Stets, 1999; Hogg et al., 1995; Stets & Burke, 2000). According to this path, behavior occurs to verify one's identity and is activated when there are

problems with self-verification (Stryker & Burke, 2000), which is defined as “the striving for consistency between one’s self relevant feedback and one’s internal self-standards” (Riley & Burke, 1995, p. 61). In other words, an individual will modify their behavior to ensure there is a match with internalized identity standards. Self-verification involves relations with others and depends to a large extent on how others respond to identity claims (Riley & Burke, 1995). Where identities are confirmed in interactions with others, the salience of the identity is likely to be reinforced, whereas problems verifying an identity can lead to reduced commitment to that identity and therefore lower salience (Burke & Stets, 1999; Stryker & Burke, 2000).

SOCIAL IDENTITY THEORY

In contrast to IDT, SIDT has its roots in psychology and is strongly associated with self-categorization theory, which describes the categorization process associated with group behavior (Turner, 1985). SIDT views the basis of identity as the social group and/or category (henceforth, group), whereby one categorizes oneself as being part of a group and embodies the cognitive, attitudinal, or behavioral characteristics of a prototypical group member, thus engendering a degree of depersonalization and conformity (Hogg et al., 1995; Stets & Burke, 2000). In SIDT a prototype is defined as “a subjective representation of the defining attributes (e.g. beliefs, attitudes, behaviors) of a social category” (Hogg et al., 1995, p. 261), which may be represented by an actual exemplary member or an ideal type (Hogg et al., 1995). Therefore, unlike role identities where interaction with others is likely, an individual need not interact with group members to perceive themselves as being part of the group and embody its characteristics (Stets & Burke, 2000). Similar individuals are considered to be part of the in-group, whereas those who differ are categorized as the out-group, which is compared less favorably by in-group members to maintain and enhance self-esteem (Hogg et al., 1995; Stets & Burke, 2000). The group characteristics that come to the fore can be strongly influenced by which out-group is the basis for comparison, and the frame of reference may change over time (Ashforth et al., 2008; Hogg et al., 1995). The key processes involved in social identity theory are therefore self-categorization and social comparison, with emphasis on self-esteem (Stets & Burke, 2000).

Similar to role identities, an individual can have multiple group identities (henceforth, social identities), including different levels of identities at the superordinate (e.g. human), intermediate (e.g. American) and subordinate (e.g. Southerner) levels (Stets & Burke, 2000), which can be salient to varying degrees (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Hogg et al., 1995; Stets & Burke, 2000). In SIDT salience is defined as “the activation of an identity in a situation” (Stets & Burke, 2000, p. 229), where “different identities become active as the situation changes and as relevant stimuli for self-categorization change” (Stets & Burke, 2000, p. 231). For example, a specific social identity may be evoked by a particular situation (e.g. a Canadian identity at an international event) or a situation may prescribe avoidance of a self-categorization, for example if it is perceived negatively (e.g. a male at a feminist meeting) (Hogg et al., 1995).

MULTIPLE IDENTITIES AND IDENTITY CONFLICT

An individual’s self-concept is likely to comprise multiple role and social identities, which can have varying relationships between them. In a review of the literature on multiple identities, Ramarajan (2014) summarizes three main relationships between identities, whereby one can enhance another, there can be overlap or integration between them, or they can be in conflict. Identity enhancement suggests individuals benefit from the interaction of multiple identities (Ramarajan, 2014), for example when one role provides skills and resources that benefit another role (Tiedje et al., 1990), whereas identity overlap or integration refers to the “overlap in meaning and content across identities” (Ramarajan, 2014, p. 614). Conversely, identity conflict is defined as “an inconsistency between the contents of two or more identities, such as a clash of values, goals, or norms” (Ashforth et al., 2008, p. 354). Conflict can occur between role identities and/or social identities and can compromise the utility of each identity to its particular setting (Ashforth & Mael, 1989), lead to inaction and inconsistent action (Biddle, 1986), and even ultimately impair identification with one or multiple identities (Jackson & Schuler, 1985).

However, conflicting identities do not always lead to negative outcomes. Some scholars note that individual identity conflict tends to remain latent until the demands of conflicting identities are simultaneously triggered (Ashforth & Mael, 1989) and that individuals can cope with considerable

latent conflict between identities (Ashforth et al., 2008; Ashforth & Mael, 1989). Some scholars highlight the benefits of identity conflict in terms of crystallizing which identities matter most, motivating positive behaviors, improving ability to deal with challenges (Ashforth et al., 2008), and enabling more integrative thinking (Ramarajan, 2014).

Scholars have identified numerous individual responses to identity conflict. Based on a review of the literature, Ashforth et al. (2008) summarize the various ways identity conflicts are managed:

Identity demands may be renegotiated; identities may be cognitively decoupled or buffered such that conflicts are less apparent; identities may be enacted sequentially so that one responds to the needs of the moment; and identities may be ordered in importance such that conflicts are “resolved” by deferring to the most important identity. Furthermore, one may defer to that identity exerting the most pressure and cognitively minimize or rationalize the dissonance; one may compromise between the identity demands or fulfill them in a perfunctory manner; and one may do nothing, perhaps pleading helplessness. A particularly intriguing tactic may be termed *identicide*, where one suppresses and even kills an identity that is seen to impede other valued identities. (p. 355)

Kreiner, Hollensbe, and Sheep (2006) demonstrate some of these responses in their study of Episcopal priests who experience tension between their personal identities and their social identities as priests. They find that the priests respond to the tension by either differentiating or integrating the identities, or by doing a bit of both. Differentiating tactics identified by Kreiner et al. include setting limits (renegotiating identity demands), separating role from identity (decoupling), flipping the on/off switch (sequential enactment), and creating an identity hierarchy (ordering identities in terms of importance). While Kreiner et al. suggest that emphasis on differentiation or integration will be shaped by the culture within which one is embedded (e.g. individualist) and need for uniqueness, they do not explain why an individual will use a specific tactic or combination of tactics, aside from highlighting that tactics may be used cumulatively to provide further force in a specific direction. Thus, while the literature on identity conflict identifies and demonstrates diverse responses to conflict, there is limited explanation with respect to what shapes varied individual responses.

IDENTITY THEORY AND SOCIAL IDENTITY THEORY IN THE STUDY OF FOUNDERS

Scholars have begun to apply IDT and SIDT to the study of founders to better understand motivations to become a founder, and enablers and challenges to adopting and maintaining a founder identity, as well as what comprises founder identity and how different identities shape founder behavior and ventures. This section discusses extant literature on each of these themes.

Motivations, Enablers, and Challenges to Adopting and Maintaining a Founder Identity

Prior research on founder identity sheds light on motivations to adopt a founder identity, which include a desire to verify self-conceptions (Murnieks & Mosakowski, 2007), entrepreneurial peer groups (Falck et al., 2012), perceptions of prototypical founders (Farmer et al., 2011; Hytti & Heinonen, 2013), and founder role importance (Hoang & Gimeno, 2010). Hoang and Gimeno (2010), for example, conceptualize the decision to become a founder as a transition in role identity and theorize that subjective importance of the founder role (identity centrality) can motivate an individual to leave a current role and become a founder. In their study of motivation, Farmer et al. (2011) refer to a prototypical founder identity, against which an individual compares their own self-perceived characteristics, resulting in weaker or stronger founder identity aspiration. The stronger one's identity aspiration, the more likely one is to engage in nascent entrepreneurial behaviors of discovery and exploitation as they seek to construct the desired founder identity (Farmer et al., 2011). Hytti and Heinonen (2013) also show how a prototypical founder identity impacts motivation to become a founder. In their study of entrepreneurship education in Finland, Hytti and Heinonen show how the stereotypical founder hero identity, with masculine traits such as risk-taking, achievement orientation, courage, and aggression, can lead some individuals to either construct an alternative founder identity or resist becoming a founder altogether because they cannot identify with the extant founder identity prototype.

An individual may also be motivated to become a founder following adoption of a new role identity, such as the role of mother (Leung, 2011; Lewis et al., 2016). For example, in their study of female founders in New Zealand, Lewis et al. (2016) examine transition from an organizational role to a founder role when women become mothers. They find that as the women establish their identity

as a new mother, they experience role conflict with their previous organizational role, prompting them to adopt a founder identity, which is blended with their role of mother ('mumpreneurs'). Alternatively, as Dencker et al. (in press) highlight in their reconceptualization of necessity entrepreneurship, individuals may also become founders due to lack of alternative roles, as is prevalent at the bottom of the economic pyramid in developing countries, as well as due to loss of a role, for example through lay-offs or extreme situations that force individuals to leave their country and job (e.g. civil war, famine).

Other studies highlight enablers and challenges to adopting and maintaining a founder identity, such as founder role novelty (Hoang & Gimeno, 2010), other identities (Hoang & Gimeno, 2010; Jain et al., 2009), and needs for both distinctiveness and belonging (Shepherd & Haynie, 2009). For example, Hoang and Gimeno (2010) theorize that successful transition into the founder role can be hindered by high role novelty and conflict with other roles (e.g. family roles), which can make it difficult to adapt to new role requirements and integrate the founder role identity into one's self-concept. Similarly, Jain et al. (2009) find that university scientists respond to conflict between scientist and entrepreneur roles by adopting a hybrid identity that maintains emphasis on their cherished scientist identity. The importance of the extant scientist identity therefore limits internalization of the entrepreneur identity. Conversely, Shepherd and Haynie (2009) theorize how multiple role identities can enable maintenance of a founder identity where founders are able to compartmentalize or integrate their multiple identities to satisfy needs for distinctiveness and belonging, which if not realized can diminish psychological wellbeing and potentially destroy one's career or company.

In sum, extant studies identify a variety of factors that influence adoption and maintenance of a founder identity. Most of these extant studies, either implicitly or explicitly, assume there is a common understanding of what it means to be a founder with existing templates for action, which may interact with other identities and motivate or hinder adoption of a founder identity.

Founder Identity Composition and Behavioral Impact from an IDT Perspective

In addition to studies highlighting motivations, enablers, and challenges to adopting and maintaining a founder identity, there is also a growing body of work exploring what comprises founder identity and how different identities shape founder behavior and ventures. Scholars applying an IDT lens highlight different role identities related to being an entrepreneur or founder and how they shape behavior. Hoang and Gimeno (2010), for example, conceptualize founder role identity as potentially including multiple sub-identities, which can vary by founder in terms of number and differentiation, thereby influencing the degree of founder identity complexity. They argue that individuals who conceive of the founder role in complex ways are likely to have a greater behavioral repertoire to manage role novelty and conflict with non-founder roles as they transition into a founder role and will adapt more readily to conditions of negative feedback. Hoang and Gimeno further construct four broad founder role identity profiles based on identity complexity and the importance of the founder role (identity centrality), which are associated with differences in capacity for adaptation and motivation to search for solutions in the face of negative feedback, and therefore with long-term outcomes of successful founding, abandonment, or dormancy.

In their study of entrepreneurial passion, Cardon et al. (2009) identify three distinct entrepreneurial role identities of inventor, founder, and developer. They argue that individuals have preferences and passion for particular, and potentially multiple, roles in the entrepreneurial process depending on which roles are meaningful to their identity. They further argue that an individual's preference and passion for different roles shapes their behavior and effectiveness with respect to role-related activities, such as opportunity recognition (inventor role), venture creation (founder role), and venture growth (developer role). Murnieks, Mosakowski, and Cardon (2014) subsequently demonstrate that the level of entrepreneurial passion, and therefore entrepreneurial effort, is influenced by the relative importance of the entrepreneurial identity. In other words, the more central the entrepreneurial identity, the more passion the individual will have and the more effort they will devote to founding and operating a new venture (Murnieks et al., 2014).

Mathias and Williams (2014) focus specifically on multiple role identities nested within the founder role identity in their study of the impact of founder identity on opportunity evaluation and selection. They argue that founders are often unable to specialize in just one role and therefore simultaneously hold multiple role identities that are salient in the context of their work. Mathias and Williams specifically examine how simultaneously held founder role identities of entrepreneur, manager, and investor influence decision making with respect to opportunity evaluation and selection, depending on which role identity is activated. They find that when different role identities are activated, founders respond differently with respect to how they perceive risk, the scope of opportunities they consider, and which type of opportunities they focus on. They further imply that founder role identities are likely to shift in dominance over time and thus wax or wane in importance. Similar to Cardon et al. (2005), Mathias and Williams hypothesize that shifting role identity dominance may occur as new ventures grow and require emphasis on different roles, however they do not elaborate further on why and how such shifts may occur and whether there are differences across founders, and if so, why.

Founder Identity Composition and Behavioral Impact from an SIDT Perspective

Highlighting a need to move beyond IDT, Fauchart and Gruber (2011) apply SIDT to further understanding of founder identity and how it shapes the emerging firm. In their study of the sports equipment industry in the West European Alpine region, Fauchart and Gruber identify three distinct founder identities of 'darwinian', 'communitarian', and 'missionary' based on the identity dimensions of basic social motivation, basis of self-evaluation, and frame of reference/relevant others. Darwinian founders focus on making profit and accumulating wealth, run their firms based on traditional business principles and professionalism, and try to achieve competitive differentiation, whereas communitarian founders focus on contributing to their community and run their firms with an emphasis on authenticity, customer care, and products that support the community (Fauchart & Gruber, 2011). Missionary founders, on the other hand, focus on a desire to change broader society and thus run their firms with an emphasis on social responsibility, contribution to a better world, and being an exemplar of social change (Fauchart & Gruber, 2011). As subsequently summarized by

Gruber and MacMillan (2017), darwinians focus on the 'self' and pursue a traditional business logic, whereas communitarians focus on 'personal others' and pursue a community logic, and missionaries focus on 'impersonal others' and pursue a mission-driven logic. Fauchart and Gruber (2011) argue that founders act in ways that are consistent with their social identities, which therefore shapes how they view and create their firms, including strategic decisions relating to target market, customer needs addressed, and deployment of resources. Thus, founders with different identity types make different decisions and create different types of firms. Fauchart and Gruber also touch on identity hybridity, noting that founders holding more than one identity type will evolve in different and difficult to predict directions, whereby decisions may be based on one identity or a combination of identities. They also suggest founders may switch from a pure identity (e.g. communitarian) to a hybrid identity (e.g. communitarian-darwinian) due to external pressures such as financial performance requirements from investors. However, they do not explain how these shifts occur and whether all founders switch their identity under the same external pressures, or if there are differences across founders, and if so, why.

Various studies subsequently build on Fauchart and Gruber's (2011) typology, for example to develop a scale to measure founder social identity (Sieger et al., 2016), examine identity dynamics in multi-founder nascent ventures (Powell & Baker, 2017), and show how founder identity shapes effectual versus causal behavior in the start-up process of a new venture (Alsos et al., 2016). For example, in their study of new firms in Norway, Alsos et al. (2016) find that founder social identity is an important factor shaping founder behavior and that different founder social identities lead to differences with respect to effectual and causal behaviors, which they define as follows:

Causation processes take a particular effect as a given and focus on selecting between possible means to create that effect, while effectuation processes focus on the choice between possible effects that can be created with a given means. Where causation is a goal-directed approach based on prediction, entrepreneurs following an effectual logic are more likely to adjust their goals and strategies as the situation develops based on the resources they control and trying to leverage contingencies as they emerge rather than avoiding uncertain situations. (p. 235)

In particular, they find that in the business start-up process, founders with darwinian and missionary identities are more likely to engage in causal behavior because they are goal oriented, albeit focused

on different goals (profit and competitive success versus advancing a social cause). Darwinians and missionaries are therefore focused on achieving specific end goals whereby the means to achieve the goals can vary. On the contrary, Alsos et al. find that founders with communitarian identities are more focused on their interests and social relationships and therefore emphasize processes through which to serve their community as opposed to future goals. Communitarians therefore engage in effectual behavior; however, Alsos et al. find that they also engage in some causal behavior due to the requirements to start a business.

In addition to the aforementioned studies that apply Fauchart and Gruber's (2011) typology, other studies have identified additional founder identity archetypes. For example, Hytti and Heinonen's (2013) study on founder identity construction in entrepreneurship education finds two distinct founder identities are constructed by participants; the 'heroic' and the 'humane'. The heroic founder identity includes more stereotypical masculine characteristics such as risk-taking, achievement orientation, courage, and aggression, whereas the humane founder identity emphasizes low-tech businesses (e.g. café, organic farm), softer qualities, and more modest goals (Hytti & Heinonen, 2013). Zuzul and Tripsas (2019) also identify two distinct founder identities in their recent study of new ventures in the nascent air-taxi industry in the United States, whereby founders are either 'revolutionaries' or 'discoverers'. They define revolutionaries as being characterized by starting a venture to do something ground-breaking and change the world, whereas discoverers are characterized as just wanting to build a successful business. Zuzul and Tripsas show how founder identity, through seeking to affirm one's self-views as a revolutionary or a discoverer, leads to different behaviors with respect to novelty of business models, use of innovative technologies, investment in ecosystem development, and symbolic commitment to the new category, which contribute to self-reinforcing cycles of inertia or flexibility in the firms they create.

Essers and Benschop (2009) also apply an SIDT lens in their study of Muslim businesswomen in the Netherlands. They show how female entrepreneurs construct their identities at the intersection of their religious, gender, and ethnic identities, and how these social identities can both enable or constrain entrepreneur activities, therefore shaping how founders run their firms. For

example, Essers and Benschop describe one businesswoman, for whom her Muslim identity does not play a dominant role in her business overall, however, when combined with her gender identity the two shape how she handles some male clients in her beauty business. This differs from another example they provide where the combination of a woman's Muslim, ethnic, and gender identities enable her to discover and exploit a new business opportunity, specifically a driving school for Muslim women. Essers and Benschop conclude that founders may draw on different social identities in different contexts to maximize their opportunities.

Founder Identity Composition and Behavioral Impact – Bridging IDT and SIDT

Whereas previous studies tend to apply either IDT or SIDT to explore founder identity, Powell and Baker (2014) bridge the two theories in their study of founder-run, resource-constrained firms in the United States textile and apparel manufacturing industry. Powell and Baker examine both social and role identities that are chronically salient in founders' day-to-day work to understand how and why firms vary in response to prolonged adversity. They show that differences in the structure of founders' social and role identities (singular, multiple congruent, multiple incongruent) shape how they perceive adversity and therefore how they respond as they attempt to defend or enable valued identities. For example, Powell and Baker describe that if who a founder wants to be (e.g. environmentalist) is not aligned with their actual role (e.g. keeper of the bottom line), they perceive adversity as an opportunity to make changes and create a role that expresses their previously suppressed social identity, and thus respond by transforming their firm. Conversely, if who a founder wants to be is aligned with their actual role, they perceive adversity as a challenge to this congruency and sustain their firm as it is, whereas founders with a singular identity perceive adversity as a threat to this identity and attempt to accommodate the adversity (Powell & Baker, 2014).

Powell and Baker (2017) also bridge IDT and SIDT to explain processes of collective identity formation in multi-founder nascent ventures. In their study of the textile and apparel industry in the United States, Powell and Baker develop a process model explaining how multiple founders' social identities of communitarian, missionary, and hybrid communitarian-missionary shape and become incorporated into a collective identity prototype, including authority, roles, and recruitment

structures. Enforcement of the collective identity prototype leads to varying degrees of individual identity adjustment of some founders where their identity differs from that of the in-group and they seek to conform, whereas non-conformers are excluded, and in some cases ventures are disbanded where there is contestation between differing in-groups. Powell and Baker explain that identity adjustment is likely to occur when bonding develops between in-group members, which in their study develops through frequent face-to-face interaction. However, their data demonstrate some cases where individuals within these conditions do not adjust, leading to questions about individual differences in identity adjustment within similar conditions.

Founder Identity Composition and Behavioral Impact in Contexts of Extreme Poverty

Most prior research on founder identity has been conducted in developed country contexts (e.g. Fauchart & Gruber, 2011; Mathias & Williams, 2014; Powell & Baker, 2014, 2017; Zuzul & Tripsas, 2019), albeit in some cases under differing conditions such as resource constraint (Powell & Baker, 2014) and industry nascency (Zuzul & Tripsas, 2019). Extant literature on entrepreneurship in contexts of extreme poverty in developing and emerging economies (henceforth, developing countries) highlights differences in the conditions these founders face, including embeddedness in networks of family and kin, a moral economy of sharing (Berner et al., 2012; Viswanathan et al., 2008), overcrowded market niches, negligent or predatory government agents (Berner et al., 2012), and uncertain institutional contexts and institutional voids (Bruton et al., 2013; Mair & Martí, 2006). Given contextual dimensions are found to influence entrepreneurship (Rivera-Santos et al., 2015) and identities are said to be socially constructed (Ashforth et al., 2000; Ashforth & Mael, 1996; Chasserio et al., 2014; Essers & Benschop, 2007), it is therefore implied that founder identity will differ between developed country contexts and contexts of extreme poverty in developing countries. However, few studies have examined founder identity in these contexts.

The limited extant research on founder identity in contexts of extreme poverty in developing countries demonstrates that it is shaped by informal institutions such as collectivism and fatalism (Slade Shantz et al., 2018), as well as cognitive social capital (Viswanathan et al., 2014) and gender and mobile phones (Masika, 2017). For example, Slade Shantz et al. (2018) specifically explore

necessity-motivated founders in a context of poverty in rural Ghana and find that while extant studies in developed countries associate founder identity with discovery and exploitation behaviors, in contexts of poverty being a founder is primarily associated with obligation and constraint, shaped by informal institutions of collectivism and fatalism. They find that collectivism shapes founder identity as an obligation to be a social safety net, consistent market linkage, and mentor or role model, whereas fatalism shapes it as a constraint whereby agency and success are bounded, and opportunities are limited due to inherited paths. The founder identity of obligation and constraint therefore limits behaviors related to opportunity identification and pursuit, resulting instead in diversion of resources to aid others and imitative as opposed to innovative behavior, thus limiting potential for growth (Slade Shantz et al., 2018). Slade Shantz et al. highlight that their findings hint at the possibility founders “may be able to become aware of and even discard these ‘appropriate’ roles and functions, particularly if they disembed themselves, either physically or emotionally, by exposing themselves to alternate occupational templates” (p. 433). However, they do not elaborate on potential differences across founders in terms of their ability to change or the process through which change occurs.

In their study of subsistence founders in India, Viswanathan et al. (2014) find that founders craft an identity that reflects the broader identity of the community. In particular, they find that cognitive social capital shapes the founder identity, whereby cognitive social capital “reflects a common understanding of collective goals and is embodied in shared norms, language, narratives and circumstances, and obligations towards the community” (p. 219). Viswanathan et al. further suggest that the founder identity constructed through cognitive social capital in contexts of poverty leads to empathy for the struggles of customers, resulting in founder behaviors such as accepting delayed payments and providing money loans. In another example, Masika (2017) explores the relationship between gender, mobile phones, and founder identity in her study of female street traders in Uganda. Masika finds that women construct their founder identities differently in relation to mobile phones. She describes that for some women, mobile phones marginalize their founder identity, for example where limits in technological confidence lead to doubts about entrepreneurial

capabilities or where gendered norms regarding mobile phones emphasize female marginalization. However, for other women, mobile phones legitimize their founder identity, for example by symbolizing belonging to the business community or where mobile phones are associated with a sense of responsibility or a break from the past (Masika, 2017).

Therefore, while there is some understanding of what shapes founder identity in contexts of extreme poverty in developing countries and demonstration that founder identity shapes behavior, the literature is scant and nascent. Little is known about how new founder identities emerge in these contexts and how they may change over time, as well as how diverse founder identities shape founder behavior and outcomes in different ways. In their recent review of entrepreneurship as a solution to extreme poverty, Sutter, Bruton, and Chen (2019) specifically call for more studies of founders at the individual micro level in contexts of extreme poverty, highlighting that “little is known about the individual entrepreneur; the focus instead has been on the micro-enterprise” (p. 209).

SUMMARY AND RESEARCH QUESTION

In sum, extant literature identifies numerous motivations, enablers, and challenges to adopting and maintaining a founder identity. The literature also demonstrates that founder identities can be shaped by various forces and can include differing constellations of role identities and/or social identities that are salient for founders in their work, which shape founder behavior and ventures in diverse ways.

Existing studies suggest founders may have extant social identities that become salient to their founder identity (e.g. Essers & Benschop, 2009; Fauchart & Gruber, 2011; Slade Shantz et al., 2018; Viswanathan et al., 2014) or they may be required to take on pre-defined role identities in the context of their work (e.g. Mathias & Williams, 2014; Slade Shantz et al., 2018); or as Powell and Baker (2014) argue, founders may “construct idiosyncratic sets of identities salient to them as founders based on personal circumstances, history, values and aspirations.” (p. 1428). Differences in founder identity conceptions may also be based on differential access to founders, role set members, and mentors (Hoang & Gimeno, 2010), as well as career history (Hoang & Gimeno, 2010; Powell &

Baker, 2014), media attention (Anderson & Warren, 2011; Hoang & Gimeno, 2010; Nicholson & Anderson, 2005), and entrepreneurship education (Hytti & Heinonen, 2013).

Extant studies also suggest that diverse founder identities may develop through interactions between multiple identities (e.g. Essers & Benschop, 2009; Masika, 2017) and that an individual's founder identity may change in response to external pressures such as enforcement of a collective identity prototype (Powell & Baker, 2017) or financial performance requirements from investors (Fauchart & Gruber, 2011). Prior research also suggests that founder identity may change through exposure to alternate identity templates (Slade Shantz et al., 2018) and that some founder within-work role identities may shift in dominance at varying stages of a venture (Cardon et al., 2005).

Thus, extant literature provides indications as to what shapes founder identity and why founder identities may change. However, little is known about the processes through which founder identities emerge and change. This gap is even more pronounced with respect to contexts of extreme poverty where there is surprisingly little research on founder identity. This study aims to address this gap by exploring the following question: ***How do founder identities emerge and change in contexts of extreme poverty?***

In this study, founder is defined as those who own and manage ventures (Mathias & Williams, 2017) and founder identity is defined as “the set of identities that is chronically salient to a founder in her or his day-to-day work” (Powell & Baker, 2014, p. 1409). The perspective emphasized is that founder identity is “a complex, increasingly fluid, multi-level and multi-dimensional construct comprising multiple sub-identities” (Leitch & Harrison, 2016, p. 179), rather than a singular and unchanging construct.

CHAPTER 3: STUDY CONTEXT AND METHODOLOGY

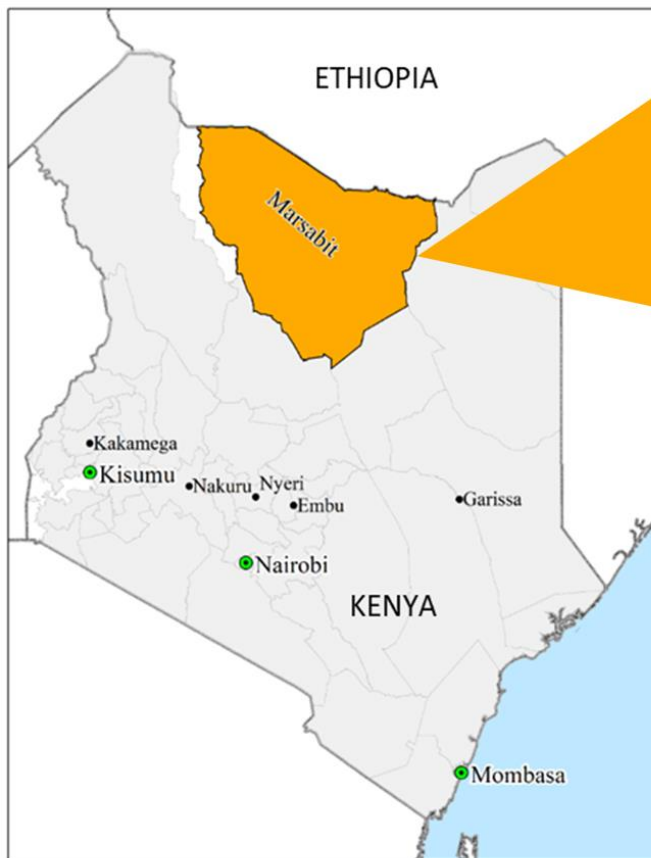
CHAPTER INTRODUCTION

This chapter details the context where I elected to explore my research question and why it is well suited for this study, as well as how I selected my sample and who they are. I further explain my study design and data collection, including some of the challenges experienced with collecting data in this context and how I managed them, as well as how I managed social desirability bias and researcher bias. Finally, I provide extensive detail on my six phases of data coding and analysis over the multiple years of my study, including an overview diagram highlighting the data included, focus of coding, other methods used, and outputs of each phase.

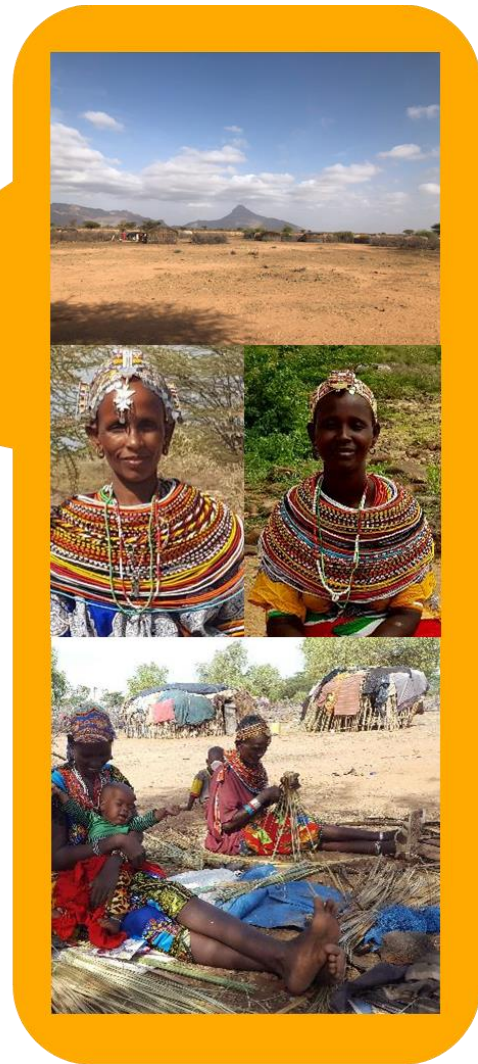
STUDY CONTEXT

My study is conducted in a pastoralist community in Marsabit County in Northern Kenya where the concept of business is relatively new and impoverished pastoralists are in the early stages of learning basic business concepts through development organization initiatives. As illustrated in Figure 1, Marsabit County is located in the extreme Northern part of Kenya approximately 550 kilometers from Nairobi and close to the border of Ethiopia. It is Kenya's largest and least populated county, with a total area of 70,961 square kilometers and a population of approximately 316,206 people made up of various ethnic communities including the Rendille, Gabbra, Borana, Samburu, and Turkana (*First county integrated development plan 2013-2017*, 2013). Population density is low at an average of four people per square kilometer (*First county integrated development plan 2013-2017*, 2013). It is also Kenya's most arid area, comprised primarily of lowland scrub desert interspersed with several mountain ranges and hills.

Figure 1: Marsabit County Location and Images



Source (map): National Environment Management Authority
Source (photos): Author



Marsabit County is the fourth poorest county in Kenya, with 83% of the population living in absolute poverty and the majority being uneducated, with 68% having no education and 26% having only primary education (Fitzgibbon & Cabot Venton, 2014). It is predominantly a pastoralist community that has no tradition of business and where there are no words in the local language for business or profit. As Fitzgibbon and Cabot Venton (2014) describe, “In most rural areas, this generation is the first to engage in the cash economy” (p. 13). Livelihoods depend mainly on raising domestic animals including cattle, camels, goats, sheep and donkeys primarily for food and more recently for trade. Families live in ‘manyattas’, which are settlements of houses that encircle livestock pens. The houses are predominantly single room stick huts with domed roofs covered with plastic bags or sheets, which at times house families with 10 or more children. The houses have a cooking hearth inside near the entrance and a sleeping area, which often consists of plastic sheets,

grass mats, or animal skins, although some now have mattresses and, in some cases, tin sheets that are placed against the stick walls as protection from the elements. They survive on a diet with a high caloric deficit, consisting primarily of milk, meat and blood tapped from living animals, and some cereals particularly in the dry season (Fratkin, 2001), as well as more recently introduced vegetables primarily from neighboring counties. Many have rarely travelled beyond their nearest tiny market towns and due to limited exposure to role models and media, their ideas and worldviews are locally circumscribed (Fitzgibbon & Cabot Venton, 2014).

Historically, the pastoralists have been very nomadic, moving their livestock and families around to various grazing sites. However, during the colonial period between 1900 and 1963, a movement towards sedentarization of pastoralists commenced, whereby they were confined to specific grazing areas and restricted from moving into the land of other groups (Fratkin, 2001). During this time, small scale initiatives were implemented to improve water supplies, livestock breeds, and management of grazing. Following independence, a long period of extensive droughts in Northeast Africa beginning in 1971 increased sedentarization as more pastoralists were encouraged to settle by famine relief centers in the lowlands and agricultural projects in the highlands, which were implemented by religious missions and international development organizations (Fratkin, 2001; Fratkin et al., 2004). Development organizations also initiated a number of programs in the 1960s through 1980s based on a belief that traditional pastoral practices were degrading the environment. This included initiatives to reduce herd sizes, increase market integration of pastoralists, and increase livestock marketing. Investments were made into roads, auction sites, wells and pumps, and veterinary care. Although many of these initiatives during this time were unsuccessful in affecting land degradation, livestock productivity and food insecurity (Swift, 1991), many pastoralists remain settled near towns, drawn to opportunities to market milk, meat and livestock, and to gain wage labor, as well as to access healthcare, famine relief foods, police protection from interethnic raiding, and education (Fratkin, 2001; Fratkin et al., 2004; Roth, 1991, 1996). Education is increasingly perceived as essential for children, albeit in some cases placing severe stress on families due to associated costs. Although many settled pastoralists continue to keep livestock herds, they often

cannot maintain them in the arid lowlands near towns, and therefore herd them for most of the year in distant camps managed by young men.

In recent decades there have been increased efforts to integrate pastoralists into the market economy due in part to increased demand for meat and dairy to satisfy urban population growth (Fratkin, 2001), as well as development organizations' efforts to alleviate poverty, improve livelihoods, and enable survival through increasingly harsh periods of drought. While trading or selling livestock for commodities such as grains is not necessarily new for pastoralists, it has previously been considered more a form of barter than business. For example, early transactions involving money exchange are described by anthropologists as a form of barter as all money gained was immediately and entirely spent on commodities (Casciarri, 2009), particularly because pastoralists did not place value on the concept of money itself. As recently as 2013, Fitzgibbon and Cabot Venton (2014) found that the majority of pastoralists in the area "do not view their herds as an economic asset" (p. 13) and there is limited ability to understand even basic financial concepts such as income versus profit. For example, Fitzgibbon and Cabot Venton (2014) describe "a limited ability to consider income/production and expenditure from a balance sheet perspective" (p. 13) and "obvious confusion in understanding the difference between terms such as income and profit" (p. 13).

Development organizations have therefore begun implementing programs to provide pastoralists with basic business knowledge, skills, and resources to enable them to buy and sell items for revenue, calculate profit, save money, and access and repay loans with interest. As a result, an increasing number of pastoralists are starting small businesses in an attempt to improve their livelihoods. Typical businesses in the area include livestock trade, beadwork, and petty trade of items such as sugar, tea leaves, washing powder, and other necessities. Those engaging in petty trade of various items tend to sell goods from their homes and some have small corrugated iron kiosks within or close to their villages. Therefore, in most cases their customers are community members who live among them, aside from those who are able to sell goods or livestock to buyers from Nairobi or other

areas at the livestock markets or who are close to the road and can sell goods to passing travelers. Some pastoralists have also joined initiatives that sell beadwork to international customers.

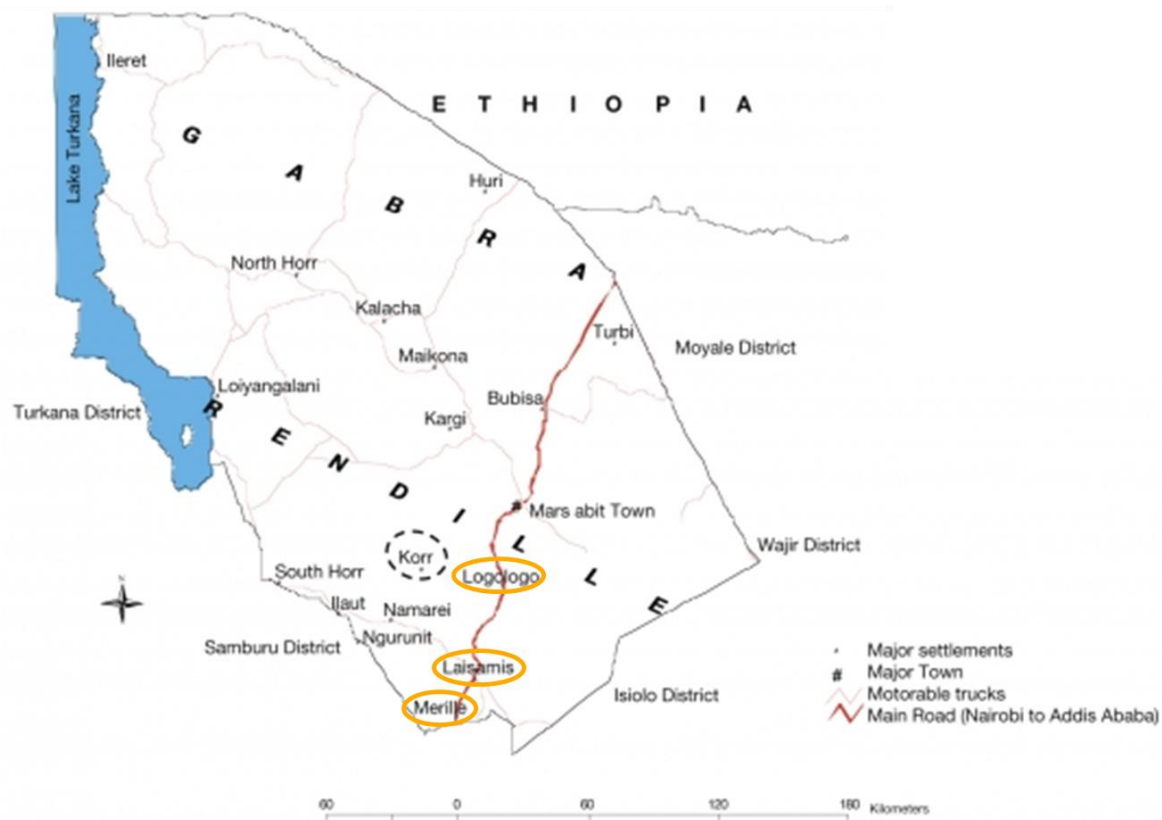
SAMPLE

To identify study participants and collect my data, I engaged with a local independent trust and non-governmental organization (NGO) implementing a modified 'financial graduation project' (Elliott & Fowler, 2012). The aim of the program is to help those living in extreme poverty build sustainable livelihoods through business to enable them to live above the 'survival threshold', whereby households can meet basic food needs without external assistance (Fitzgibbon & Cabot Venton, 2014). The program builds on a small bi-monthly cash transfer provided through a government program that aims to improve consumption stability and predictability. Cash transfer recipients are put into savings groups of up to 30 people in which they contribute every month to group savings, as well as learn how to take loans from the group and how to repay the loans with interest according to specified deadlines. The accumulated group savings are shared out amongst all contributing members at the end of a cycle (approximately a year) and a new cycle starts. The savings groups are facilitated by community-based facilitators (CBFs), who are more educated members of the community and who train the groups on life skills (e.g. self-esteem, assertiveness, decision making) and basic financial and business skills (e.g. profit calculation, financial goal setting, savings, budgeting), as well as prepare them to take formal loans from a bank. At the start of my study, the program was in its early stages of forming savings groups, which, combined with the nascent business context, provided an ideal setting to explore how founder identities emerge and change.

During my initial background field visit I interviewed 16 program participants in four program locations in Marsabit County, including Korr, Logologo, Laisamis, and Merille. My intent was to retain these participants as part of my ongoing sample for a longitudinal study. However, following an incident with a flash flood near Korr, I decided to exclude that location due to potential logistical challenges. In addition, one participant I interviewed in Merille outside the livestock market turned out to be from a distant village and hence was removed from the sample. I therefore retained 14

participants from the background field visit as part of my ongoing sample, to which I subsequently added 37 participants in the following field visit, bringing my sample to a total of 51 participants from three locations of Logologo, Laisamis and Merille. These locations are indicated on the map of the area illustrated in Figure 2. The distance between Merille and Logologo is approximately 70 kilometers.

Figure 2: Map Showing Data Collection Locations



Source: Food for the Hungry

The 51 participants included in my sample are from 10 different savings groups within the program. The NGO program field officers had categorized every savings group as being low, medium, or advanced in terms of their readiness for bank loans based on criteria such as how long the savings group existed, monthly savings contribution amounts, proportion of active group members, missed cycles of meetings, and how many members take group loans. I included one savings group in each category per location to ensure diversity across my sample. I ended up with participants from 10 savings groups across the three locations because some participants from my initial background interviews were scattered across different groups and I wanted to retain them as part of the sample.

I requested the program CBFs to introduce me to five people from each savings group, including those who had already been interviewed during the background field visit. The program is comprised of approximately 80% women because often financial graduation projects focus on building livelihoods of ultra-poor women. In this program, men were included, but because they have the role of caring for livestock, they are often away from home, leaving women to attend the savings groups and therefore also participate in the other components of the program. As such, I expected a majority of women in the sample, but asked for at least one man from each savings group, where the savings groups included men (some groups are all women). I also requested diversity among participants in terms of age, business experience, and participant motivation and engagement. Where I did not feel I had enough diversity, I requested additional participants but continued to retain the original participants, partially out of interest and partially out of concern to not create a sense of rejection.

Hence my final sample is comprised of 51 participants from 10 savings groups across three locations in Marsabit County. The savings groups vary in distance from the small town centers, with some located in town, others just outside, and some up to 15 kilometers away, accessible by bumpy dirt roads or pathways. All participants in the sample are Samburu or Rendille. While I maximized diversity across the sample, it is not meant to be statistically representative, but rather diverse enough to ensure key differences could be identified over time (Eisenhardt, 1989).

Table 1 provides an overview of the sample by location, group category, gender, estimated age category, prior business experience, and individual business type at time of first interview. Age category is estimated as the majority of participants do not know their age and only the men have a sense of their age based on age-sets that are initiated in special ceremonies where boys become warriors, which take place almost exactly every 14 years (Fratkin, 2012). As illustrated in Table 1, out of the 51 participants in the sample, 32 had some existing business experience prior to the NGO program due to recent exposure to other NGO business-related programs prior to the one I was studying. Two of the 51 participants had been involved in business for a longer period of time, all of which are old/elder men who have previously travelled to other counties. 17 participants in the

sample had no business experience prior to this NGO program, 13 of which had just started a business when I first met them and four of which had not yet started a business. While some participants are involved in both individual businesses and group businesses, my focus is on identities as individual founders, and as such my emphasis is on individual business activities and behaviors.

Table 1: Overview of Study Participants

Location	Group #	Group Categorization	Estimated Proximity to Town	Gender	Estimated Age Category	Business Experience Before Current Program	Individual Business Type at First Interview
Logologo	1	Low	1km	Female	Young	Some	PT
				Male	Young	None	None
				Female	Middle-Aged	Some	PT
				Female	Middle-Aged	None	PT
				Female	Middle-Aged	Some	PT
	2	Medium	10km	Male	Middle-Aged	Some	BE
				Female	Young	Some	PT
				Female	Old/Elder	Some	PT
				Female	Young	None	PT
				Female	Young	None	PT
	3	Advanced	3km	Female	Middle-Aged	Some	PT
				Female	Young	None	PT + GT
				Female	Middle-Aged	Some	PT + BU
				Female	Old/Elder	Some	PT + GT
				Female	Middle-Aged	Some	PT + GT
Laisamis	4	Low	2km	Female	Middle-Aged	Some	BE
				Male	Old/Elder	None	K
				Female	Old/Elder	None	PT
				Female	Young	None	PT
				Female	Old/Elder	None	None
	5	Medium	0km	Female	Middle-Aged	Some	BE
				Male	Old/Elder	Advanced	PT
				Male	Old/Elder	Advanced	PT
				Male	Middle-Aged	Some	PT
				Female	Young	Some	PT + BE
	6	Medium + (almost advanced)	15km	Female	Young	Some	BE
				Female	Middle-Aged	None	PT
				Male	Old/Elder	None	None
				Female	Young	None	None
				Female	Middle-Aged	None	PT + GT
Merille	7	Low	5km	Female	Middle-Aged	Some (NR)	PT (NR)
				Female	Young	Some	PT + GT
				Female	Young	Some (NR)	PT
				Female	Old/Elder	Some (NR)	PT (NR)
				Female	Young	Some (NR)	PT (NR)
	8	Medium	1km	Male	Middle-Aged	Some	PT + GT
				Female	Young	Some	BE + K
				Female	Young	Some	PT (NR)
				Female	Middle-Aged	Some	PT (NR) + GT
				Female	Young	Some	GT + BE + H
	9	Medium + (almost advanced)	15km	Female	Young	Some	PT
				Female	Young	Some	PT + GT
				Female	Young	Some	PT + GT
				Female	Middle-Aged	Some	PT + GT
	10	Advanced	2km	Male	Middle-Aged	Some	GT + CT
				Female	Middle-Aged	Some	GT

				Female	Old/Elder	None	GT
				Female	Young	None	GT + BU
				Female	Young	Some	GT

BE = Beads, BU = Butchery, CT = Camel Trade, GT = Goat Trade, H = Hairdressing, K = Kiosk, PT = Petty Trade
(NR) = Natural Resources (making & selling items from natural resources only; no buying & selling of goods for profit)

STUDY DESIGN AND DATA COLLECTION

Due to limited prior research and understanding of processes of founder identity emergence and change, an inductive qualitative research design was deemed appropriate for this study (Edmondson & McManus, 2007). In addition, qualitative studies are recommended for questions that seek to understand how and why things are happening and provide a strong handle on what real life is like through thick descriptions that are vivid and nested in real context (Miles et al., 2014). Qualitative research designs are also deemed to be a useful method to explore the inner experiences of participants (Corbin & Strauss, 2014), and as such have been used in many of the founder identity studies (e.g. Fauchart & Gruber, 2011; Powell & Baker, 2014, 2017; Zuzul & Tripsas, 2019). Some scholars argue that qualitative research designs with multiple case studies and comparative case study analysis provide a better base for theory building (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007; Yin, 2014), whereas other scholars argue that a single case can be a very powerful example (Siggelkow, 2007) and it is possible to generalize from a single case (Gioia et al., 2013). My study design includes one overall case with multiple sub-cases, whereby the individual is the unit of analysis (Yin, 2014) and the study rests on insights and comparisons made across the study participants (Eisenhardt, 1989, 1991; Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007; Yin, 2014).

In order to identify changes in identities and behavior over time, as well as the processes through which these occur, a longitudinal study was implemented including four field visits over three years, in addition to the initial background field visit which took place in May 2016. The additional four field visits were timed to follow the implementation of different NGO program components. These field visits were conducted in November 2016 after the savings groups had been formed and improved, in May 2017 following life skills training, in March 2018 following financial and business training, and in February 2019 following the introduction of formal bank loans. As arrayed in Table 2, the duration of each field visit ranged from 14 to 28 days.

Theory building case studies tend to incorporate data gathered from a variety of sources, including fieldwork, archival records, verbal reports, observations, or any combination of these (Corbin & Strauss, 2014; Eisenhardt, 1989; Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007; Yin, 1981). My study emphasizes verbal reports from participant interviews, as well as observation, which was recorded in my field notes. This was complemented with informal discussions with field staff and local translators to provide additional context, understand what was being heard, and serve as regular reality checks (Saldana, 2003). Additional data sources for context and triangulation include formal interviews with organization staff and an anthropologist, as well as review of anthropological accounts and my own lived experience. In total, I conducted 193 participant interviews, 32 staff interviews, and one anthropological interview. Participant interviews ranged from 13 to 104 minutes, with an average length of 40 minutes, and staff interviews ranged from 29 to 97 minutes with an average length of 60 minutes. Transcriptions resulted in approximately 4,360 single-spaced pages, supplemented by 557 pages of field notes, 166 pages of personal reflection notes, and 869 pages of anthropological accounts. Table 2 arrays the data gathered specifically during each field visit.

Table 2: Summary of Field Visits and Data Collected

Wave	Timing	Days in Field	Participant Interviews	Participant Interview Length	Organization Staff Interviews	Staff Interview Length	Pages of Field Notes	Participant Interview Objectives
0	May 2016	16	16	19 - 63 mins (avg 38 mins)	12	43 - 97 mins (avg 62 mins)	61	Context and program understanding, including participant backgrounds and program perceptions
1	Nov 2016	28	48	13 - 72 mins (avg 37 mins)	11	39 – 88 mins (avg 64 mins)	148	Explore participant identities and the influence of various NGO program components
2	May 2017	14	42	20 - 58 mins (avg 35 mins)	0	N/A	97	Explore what it means to be a businessperson and the relationship between different identities
3	March 2018	16	47	28 - 74 mins (avg 48 mins)	6	29 – 63 mins (avg 48 mins)	179	Explore change and associated triggers, including identity content and relationships
4	Feb 2019	15	40	18 - 104 mins (avg 43 mins)	3	34 – 76 mins (avg 55 mins)	72	Deep dive into tension between community expectations and business objectives, as well as sources of business learning
Additional Data Collected								
Personal Reflection Notes: 166 pages								
Anthropologist Interview: 80 minutes								
Anthropological Accounts: 869 pages								

Participant Interviews

With respect to the participant interviews, because my study rests on insights and comparisons made across study participants (Eisenhardt, 1989, 1991; Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007; Yin, 2014), a semi-structured approach was used to guide the interviews to provide a degree of consistency while at the same time allowing some freedom to discuss emerging themes (Corbin & Strauss, 2014; Miles et al., 2014). Interview topics in the initial background field visit (wave 0) centered around understanding the context, participant backgrounds, and their perceptions of the program. This included general questions regarding marital status, children, income generation activities, description of a typical day, and perceptions and impact of initial NGO program components.

When I started the first full round of data collection (wave 1), my research question focused on how organizations shape identities to influence behavior of entrepreneurs at the bottom of the economic pyramid (i.e. those living in abject poverty). I therefore began to explore various participant identities and the influence of different NGO program components. This included questions related to how participants spend their time, how they generate income and what it means to have that role, important relationships and dynamics in the community, as well as what it means to be part of the savings group, relationships with savings group members and the CBF, differences between men and women, and participant aspirations. Analysis of my wave 0 and wave 1 interviews highlighted several participant identities, which led me to question how different identities interact and change over time to shape entrepreneur behavior. This question shaped my data collection in wave 2 and wave 3. Wave 2 questions built on topics in wave 1, with an emphasis on what it means to be a businessperson, participant journeys to become a businessperson, and relationships between what it means to be a businessperson and other identities (e.g. community member, parent). The term 'businessperson' was used in the interviews because this is how participants refer to themselves, and labels such as 'entrepreneur' and 'founder' are not commonly used in this context. As part of the study design I did not directly ask about identity because individuals are not always actively aware of identities and will not always explicitly verbalize identity

issues (Ashforth & Mael, 1996), but also because identity terminology was not likely to be understood in this context.

Wave 3 of data collection placed more emphasis on exploring change in the aforementioned topics and the triggers of change. For this wave I elected to intersperse quantitative survey questions throughout the qualitative interview as an attempt to measure change. Due to limited numeracy and negligible literacy of the participants, I used a visual survey design whereby seven bars of increasing sizes were illustrated on a piece of paper and participants were meant to respond to questions by pointing to the bar representing whether something was bigger or smaller for them. However, I found some participants were afraid to touch the paper, some felt they could not respond due to their lack of education, and many could not translate their experience into a visual representation. In reviewing the translated transcripts post-survey, I learned most participants simply pointed to something in an attempt to respond in some way. As such, the data gathered from the survey questions do not represent participant experience and have been excluded from my dataset.

Over the first three full waves of data collection, a tension was increasingly discussed and emphasized by participants, which stood out as particularly salient. As participants were becoming business founders or evolving as founders, many experienced increasing tension between objectives to maintain business and generate profit and savings, and expectations from community members to provide handouts of business goods, goods on credit, and money loans. The extant literature emphasizes that tensions can be a good indicator of identities (Adams, 2009), and this seemed to be an important tension. Analysis of my data from wave 0 to wave 3 indicated that the tension was associated with the emergence of potentially different founder identities. As such, I wanted to explore this tension and changes over time in more depth to understand how founder identities emerge and shape behavior in this nascent business context. Wave 4 questions therefore explored participant experiences of tension between community expectations and business objectives and their responses, potential social sanctions of various responses and how participants manage them, and perceptions of broader changes in the community, as well as sources of business learning and impacts.

Table 2 summarizes the objectives for each wave of data collection. Detailed questionnaires for each wave are provided in Appendix A. Questions were updated throughout data collection as I learned which questions and wording worked best with participants, as additional topics of interest were highlighted in participant responses, and where additional understanding was required. Participants were given time and space to talk freely about the topics.

Participant interviews were often conducted where we could find protection from the 40+ degree heat and burning sun, which was usually under the shade of a thorny tree or public building just outside the participants' manyatta, and at times within the small domed houses. This often included navigating various elements such as wind, various crawling critters including scorpions, as well as curious livestock, children, and other community members who were politely asked to give us space so participants felt they could speak freely. Figure 3 provides examples of interview settings through photographs taken during participant interviews.

Figure 3: Images of Interview Settings



Sources: Jeremy Upane, Christopher Greeff, Tamara Cook, Ralph Hamann

As participants do not speak English and in most cases do not speak Kenya's national language of Swahili, interviews were conducted in the local language of Samburu using a local translator who was often a university student from the area. Based on recorded verbal consent from participants, interviews were recorded and subsequently transcribed and translated into English following each wave of data collection. This enabled identification of any discrepancies between

researcher and translator questions and participant and translator responses as part of data analysis. Transcriptions were completed by a formal transcription company in Nairobi, Kenya. However, because the interview language is from a small population, transcribers were often university students from the local community where the interviews were conducted. In order to protect participant confidentiality, all files sent to the transcription company were anonymized and transcribers were reminded of the formal confidentiality agreement under which they were operating. The transcription company was also instructed to delete all files and recordings once the transcriptions had been received and approved for quality.

While reviewing the translated transcripts from wave 0 and wave 1, it became apparent that field translators at times adjusted question wording, asked questions in a leading way, omitted parts of participant responses, or filled gaps in responses based on their own knowledge. Translators in wave 2 were advised on these errors, however upon receipt of the wave 2 translated transcripts, I found the issues persisted and, in some cases, worsened with the new translators. Based on my experiences in the field and the transcripts from these first three waves of data collection, I identified the best of the four local translators that had been used and ensured his availability for all subsequent data collection waves. I worked closely with him to teach him about the errors made and the required changes in order to circumvent the issues that had been identified.

Social Desirability Bias and Researcher Bias

I was acutely aware that my ethnicity and introduction to participants through the NGO program CBFs was likely to lead to some social desirability bias in participant responses as participants associated me with the NGO program and Western aid. I managed this as best as possible by ensuring participants were reminded at the start of each interview that I was a student from a university and independent of the NGO program, and by ensuring the CBFs were not in the vicinity when the interviews were being conducted. In addition, I did not pay participants, but did provide each participant with a soda and sweets to thank them for their time, which is considered the polite thing to do when doing a formal interview in the area (Fratkin, 2012). The translator was instructed to maintain a supportive neutral tone with participants, which I also demonstrated

through my own tone and facial expressions while talking and during translations in order to minimize social desirability bias in participant responses (Adams, 2009; Corbin & Strauss, 2014).

The longitudinal nature of my study also played an important role in the reduction of social desirability bias because the same participants were interviewed every wave, thus enabling me to build deeper relationships and establish trust, which was essential to gathering detailed data about participant perspectives, behavior, and experiences with limited bias (Chikweche & Fletcher, 2012). It was not always possible to interview all sample participants every wave because at times they were away at distant camps with their livestock, running an errand which may take a lengthy time by foot, or tending to an emergency. Excluding the initial background interviews (wave 0), 31 of the 51 participants were available for all four waves of data collection, whereas 15 were available for three waves, three were available for two waves, and two were available for only one wave. As previously described, two participants who had been included in wave 0 were excluded from the sample. Table 3 arrays the patterns of participant availability and interviews across the multiple waves of my study. These patterns were used to identify participants for more focused analysis, which is described in the following section on data coding and analysis.

Table 3: Patterns of Participant Availability and Interviews by Wave

Pattern	Wave 0 (Background)	Wave 1	Wave 2	Wave 3	Wave 4	Participants per Pattern
1	x	x	x	x	x	5
2	x	x	x	x		3
3	x	x	x		x	2
4	x			x	x	1
5	x	x		x		1
6	x			x		1
7	x	x				1
8	x					2
9		x	x	x	x	26
10		x	x	x		4
11		x	x		x	1
12		x		x	x	4
13			x	x	x	1
14		x		x		1
Participants per Wave	16	48	42	47	40	Total Sample Excluding Pattern 8 = 51 Participants

x = available

A number of scholars have highlighted the inevitable influence the researcher has on their study context and the respondents they are studying, whereby the data themselves are likely to be affected by the researcher's presence (Adams, 2009), and where both the researcher and participant

are in the process of identity construction through the interview itself (Alvesson et al., 2008; Cassell, 2005). As previously described, I attempted to manage how I was perceived by repeatedly reminding participants of my independence from the NGO program. I also wore conservative, unbranded clothing and removed my sunglasses for interviews regardless of the harshness of the sun on my eyes, which was exacerbated due to two corneal transplants during my study. At times I was offered the single plastic chair that was available to sit on during interviews, but I ensured I sat the same way as participants when only one chair was available, which at times was on jagged rocks or thorn covered ground. Eventually I purchased small folding camping stools to accommodate the participant, myself, and the translator more comfortably. It was also important to accept tea when offered to help build relationships, which is a hot tea made with fresh goat milk, and at times packaged milk, and a significant amount of sugar. However, sometimes I tried to politely decline due to problems with brucellosis, which is a disease that can be caused from bacteria in unpasteurized milk. I also ensured I remained cognizant that my questions themselves were likely to make participants think about things they may not normally pay attention to and knowing I will return to see them repeatedly may influence their behavior in some way.

I was also cognizant that my own identity acts as a filter through which I see the world. As such, I consistently monitored and explored these influences throughout my study by reflecting through journaling (Corbin & Strauss, 2014). For example, when some of my questions were funny or confusing for participants, I reflected on the questions and what I was trying to learn from them. At times I found my questions were coming from a Western perspective, regardless of my repeated attempts to develop questions with the context in mind. As another example, a participant questioned me after an interview about my family in Canada. She wanted to understand how long it takes to drive to Canada and what side of Nairobi it is on and was surprised to learn that wheat grows from the ground (some of my family were farmers). This led me to reflect on what it is like to be illiterate, have limited access to information, and have no exposure (or very minimal exposure) to cultures from other countries, which can be difficult for educated Westerners to fully appreciate.

In addition to thoughts included within my field notes, my personal reflection includes 166 pages of journal notes. The longitudinal design of my study with repeated observations and interviews, as well as my repeated presence over time, also had benefits in that it helped reduce researcher influence due to sustained interaction (Adams, 2009), as well as enabled me to rule out ‘spurious associations’ and premature theories (Maxwell, 2009).

Staff Interviews and Field Notes

Informal discussions and formal interviews with organization staff for additional understanding and triangulation were conducted primarily in English. Some interviews with field staff were conducted in a mix of Swahili and English with the help of the local translator in order to allow field staff to fully express themselves in the language they were most comfortable with. The interviews were conducted in offices in Nairobi, field offices in Marsabit County, and in some cases wherever we could find a place after participant interviews (e.g. at the market, under a tree, in a local school building). All formal staff interviews were recorded, based on signed consent, and subsequently transcribed by me or the transcription company in Nairobi, Kenya.

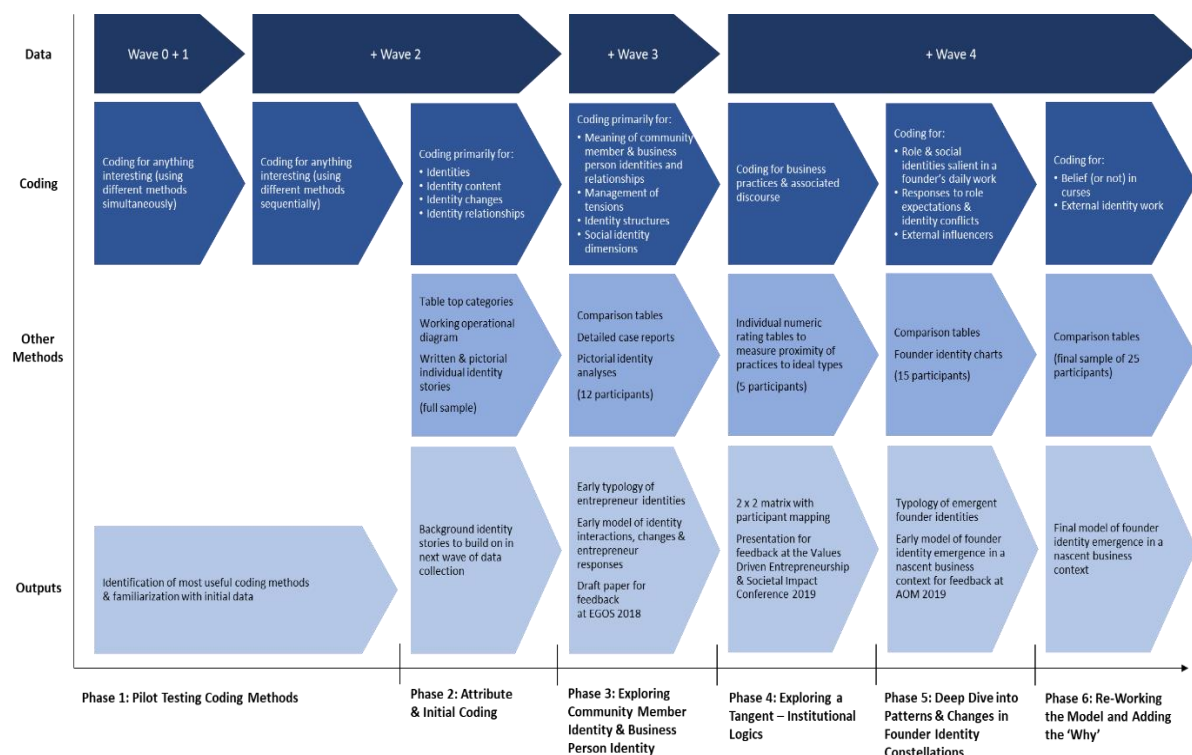
At the end of each day in the field I wrote detailed field notes, which included what I had learned about each participant, emerging patterns across participants, new themes that came up that might require further exploration, and highlights from any staff interviews. My daily notes also included interesting observations from the day. For example, I wrote about how I interviewed one participant for over an hour about business and when we concluded the interview, she suddenly pulled out a solar flashlight to show me the new product she was selling, which had not been discussed during the interview. And later, when she wanted to make me tea in her hut, I noticed boxes of bottles sitting in the corner of her hut. When I enquired about the bottles, she explained she was also selling alcohol as a business, which she also had not mentioned during the interview. With other participants, I watched children and adults buy various goods from them as I was conducting interviews inside their huts or saw them selling goods to buses that stopped along the road. In my field notes, I wrote about what I saw and what I noticed about their interactions with different customers. I also took photographs of the participants during each field visit and gave the

printed photographs to them during the subsequent visit. Not only was this highly entertaining for participants and their friends and families, it also enabled me to note changes in participants over time, for example in their weight, type of clothes, and quality of beads, which I reflected on in my field notes. My extended time in the context and participants' increasing comfort with me over time allowed me to observe more typical behaviors, question participants about my observations, and get a better understanding of who the participants are, how they conduct business, and how they change over time.

DATA CODING AND ANALYSIS

My coding and analysis of the data occurred in six phases over multiple years, which, because my study is inductive, included trying various methods to see what I would find and what worked best to answer my evolving question. I maintained a 272-page analysis journal to track my processes and thoughts over time. Figure 4 provides an overview of the six phases of data coding and analysis, highlighting the data included, focus of coding, other methods used, and outputs. The following sections describe each of these phases in more detail.

Figure 4: Overview of Data Coding and Analysis Phases



Phase 1: Pilot Testing Coding Methods

Following the first full wave of data collection, I coded wave 0 and wave 1 interviews in NVivo11, simultaneously using a combination of methods to see what I would find, including descriptive coding, in vivo coding, process coding, and causation coding (Miles et al., 2014). Not sure at this point what I was looking for, I coded everything that seemed interesting and ended up with hundreds of codes, which I subsequently grouped into categories (Saldana, 2016) such as 'aspirations', 'barriers to business growth', 'causal links', 'CBF role', 'participant changes', 'business roles', 'family roles', 'others' perceptions', 'self-definitions', and 'societal roles'. For example, the 'self-definition' category included codes such as "I am a Muslim", "we are villagers", and "we are illiterate", and the 'business roles' category included codes such as "I no longer do manual jobs", 'selling', 'saving', and 'realization of goals'. While the coding helped me start to get a sense of what was going on in the context and with participants, I was overwhelmed with the number and variety of codes and the various methods used at the same time, as well as too much simultaneous, or multiple, coding of the same datum, which are indicative of an incomplete vision for a coding system (Miles et al., 2014).

Following wave 2 of data collection, I elected to try a new approach and followed the guidance of Saldana (2016) to pilot test different coding methods sequentially to determine which would be most useful. I sequentially applied four different coding methods to the interviews of two participants from wave 0 to wave 2, thus re-coding their previously coded interviews from scratch. I first coded the interviews using attribute coding so I would be able to identify groupings of different types of participants that may be relevant (Saldana, 2016). Attributes coded included gender, marital status, estimated age category, number of children, location, savings group, and disability. I subsequently coded the same interviews line-by-line using only in vivo coding in order to capture participants' exact words (Saldana, 2016). Codes included "my parents didn't educate me", "we are pastoralists", "I am a businessperson", "I give food to needy families", "It [business] changed me", and "I want to do big business". I subsequently grouped the codes into themes using the in vivo code that most represented the other sub-codes. For example, "I am a businessperson" included codes

such as “buying and selling sugar”, “depend on one business”, “small business to help self out”, and “children depend on it”. The in vivo codes were grouped into references to past tense, present tense and future tense, which I arrayed in a table for each participant to visually see what was going on for them.

While I found in vivo coding helped immerse me in the participants’ world, in isolation it did not really give me a sense of the process participants were engaged in. I then re-coded the same interviews using only values coding (Saldana, 2016), whereby I coded values, attitudes, and beliefs, which at times were difficult to distinguish. Many of these codes could be grouped into past tense and present tense. For example, for many female participants ‘belief in man as provider’ in the past became ‘belief in self as provider’ in the present (e.g. no longer have to wait for husband to bring food for the family because can now earn money as a woman). Values coding proved to be the least useful coding method in terms of understanding a combination of participant perceptions, behaviors, and processes. As such, the fourth coding method I trialed in isolation was process coding in order to specifically capture action (Saldana, 2016). This included codes such as ‘differentiating between business and non-business’, ‘recalling first business’, ‘equating business with having things’, ‘comparing self to educated people’, ‘identifying knowledge and skills’, ‘defining self as a group member’, ‘admiring others’, ‘appreciating being a widow’, ‘aspiring for more’, ‘highlighting need to educate children’, and ‘problematizing community expectations’. While I found process coding more useful, on its own it still did not fully capture what I needed to understand from the data. However, by coding the same interviews line-by-line multiple times using different coding methods sequentially, I not only learned more about the different methods, but also got a richer perspective on the same data.

Through the process of trialing different coding methods, I identified several potential identities and identity dynamics, and circled back to the identity literature (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007) for additional guidance on how to code identities. SIDT highlights self-categorization and in-group/out-group comparisons as key processes (Hogg et al., 1995; Stets & Burke, 2000). Therefore, codes such as “we are pastoralists” and ‘comparing self to educated people’ provide indications of

social identities. In addition, IDT highlights that role identities include labels and associated expectations with respect to behavior (Hogg et al., 1995; Stets & Burke, 2000; Stryker & Burke, 2000). Therefore, codes such as ‘highlighting need to educate children’, “I am a businessperson”, and ‘describing business activities’ provide indications of role identities. In addition, comparing participant data across multiple waves (wave 0 - 2) provided indications of changes in identity, for example ‘belief in man as provider’ became ‘belief in self as provider’ over time, which potentially indicated a change in what it means to be a woman. Because different coding methods provided insight into participant identities and identity dynamics in different ways, I elected to progress with (re-)coding all wave 0, wave 1, and wave 2 participant interviews using the combination of coding methods I found most useful for my question and data, which are described in Phase 2.

Phase 2: Attribute and Initial Coding

In the second phase of my coding process I coded all participant interviews from wave 0 - 2 using attribute coding and initial coding, thus re-coding all previously coded interviews from scratch. I first used attribute coding to identify basic descriptive information for each participant that may be needed for comparison to identify patterns across different participant types. I then used initial coding as a more open-ended first cycle coding method, which can include different coding methods such as in vivo coding, process coding, and other methods (Saldana, 2016). As part of initial coding, I elected to use the combination of coding methods I had found most useful for my question and data, which consisted primarily of process coding to capture action and processes of emergence and change and sequencing over time, as well as descriptive coding to summarize the topic of a piece of data in a short word or phrase. I also used some in vivo coding where it was useful to capture participants’ exact words (Saldana, 2016).

Following an initial read of each interview, I went back through the interview a second time, coding specifically for participant attributes (e.g. gender, marital status, estimated age category, number of children, location, savings groups, disability). I subsequently went through the interview a third time looking for indications of identities, identity content, identity changes, and identity relationships, whereby I coded the data using initial coding methods including process coding,

descriptive coding, and in vivo coding. This involved identifying any participant self-categorizations, in-group/out-group comparisons, and role-related expectations and behaviors, which were coded as specific identities. Identities coded included 'mother', 'father', 'wife', 'husband', 'widow', 'divorcee', 'young', 'old', 'elder', 'pastoralist', 'livestock owner', 'community member', 'disabled', 'illiterate', 'poor', 'beggar', 'borrower', 'religious', 'businessperson', 'laborer', 'beneficiary', 'credit-worthy', 'student', and 'savings group member'. I also coded 'aspirational identities' (e.g. kiosk owner, goat trader, big business owner) and savings group role identities such as 'chairperson', 'secretary', and 'treasurer'. I wanted to code for all possible identities because at this point, I did not know which identities were going to be most relevant. I also I coded for meanings associated with an identity. For example, meanings associated with being a businessperson were given codes such as 'having things', 'expectations [from others]', 'buying and selling', 'autonomy', 'risk', 'savings', 'competition', and 'progression', which were further grouped into a category of 'defining businessperson'.

In addition, I coded for changes in identities across waves or where participants specifically noted changes within an interview. For example, where a woman talked about how she no longer has to wait for a man to bring her food and she can now provide for her children, I coded this as 'changing meaning of woman', and where a participant previously referred to how as an old person she used to rely on others for handouts but can now do business to meet her needs, I coded this as 'changing meaning of old'. Cycling back to the literature (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007) on multiple identities further led me to code for different identity relationships, including where identities conflict, where one identity enhances another, and where there is overlap or integration between them (Ramarajan, 2014). For example, where a participant talked about how community member expectations for handouts and goods on credit made her business fail, this was coded as 'conflict – business & community', and where a mother previously struggled put her children through school but was subsequently able to through business, I coded this as 'business enables enactment of desired mother identity'. I also coded any responses to tensions where they were discussed. For example, responses to tensions between community member expectations and business objectives were given codes such as 'fulfil requests', 'cover with money from elsewhere', 'explain it is a

business', 'manage credit frequency', 'charge interest', 'apply criteria for support', 'stop giving credit', 'stop giving handouts', and 'relocate business'. I also coded for anything else that seemed important, for example any statements regarding the importance of business were coded as 'valuing business' and statements regarding criteria for business success were coded separately and grouped under a category code of 'criteria for success'. Because initial coding involves comparing data for similarities and differences (Saldana, 2016), I identified important and new codes as I progressed through the interviews, which at times led me to cycle back to earlier interviews to ensure they were similarly coded.

This phase of coding resulted in hundreds of codes and an overwhelming number of categories. In order to try to get a handle on what they were telling me, I used methods such as table top categories and operational model diagramming (Saldana, 2016). Per the table top categories method, I wrote key categories on post-it notes and placed them on a table so I could physically see and 'touch the data' to start to discover and understand relationships (Saldana, 2016). This led me to develop a detailed table of potential themes such as 'developing new role identities', 'building on existing identities', 'changing meanings associated with an identity' and 'influencing the salience or centrality of an identity', which included columns with examples for each theme, sample quotes, and areas for further exploration. I subsequently developed an early working operational diagram to visualize the emerging relationships and dynamics. In addition, I wrote individual identity stories and, following guidance of Saldana (2016) to be creative and think visually, I developed a pictorial identity story for each participant in my study to help me visualize what was happening (see example in Appendix B). These served as early individual case reports for comparison (Eisenhardt, 1989), although there was too much detail in the pictorial identity stories to visibly discern specific patterns. However, these did prove useful in the next wave of data collection as a visual reminder of what each participant had previously told me.

Phase 3: Exploring Community Member Identity and Businessperson Identity

During wave 3 of data collection, the tension between community expectations and business obligations was further emphasized by participants and highlighted as particularly salient. As

previously discussed, the extant literature emphasizes that tensions can be a good indicator of identities (Adams, 2009), and I began to view this tension as a conflict between what it means to be a community member (community member identity) and what it means to be a businessperson (businessperson identity). As such, I focused on these identities in my next phase of coding, whereby I looked for indications of how participants experience their community member identity and businessperson identity, as well as the relationship between the two identities and how participants manage any tensions. I coded new wave 3 interviews primarily using existing codes under categories such as 'defining business', 'defining meaning of community', 'conflict – business & community' and 'managing conflict', adding additional codes where needed. I also continued to code for other identities and identity dynamics per my previous coding phase because I was still unsure of their potential relevance with respect to how participants experience businessperson and community member identities and how and why they manage tensions in certain ways. As part of this process, I reviewed participants' previous interviews and coding and made adjustments as required. This was necessary because I was starting to identify what was important in the data and wanted to ensure I had not missed anything important in earlier coding phases. It was also essential because as I spent more time in the field, I came to better understand the context, the participants, and how they talk about certain things, and I realized some of my previous interpretations of the data were incorrect. Therefore, I reviewed and re-coded previously coded interviews to ensure they were accurate based on my more advanced understanding.

In order to start making sense of the newly coded data, I trialed a number of approaches, which were guided by existing literature, using 12 participants (approximately one-quarter of my sample) to identify patterns that could be tested across the rest of the sample (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007). Based on other founder identity studies (e.g. Powell & Baker, 2014), it was determined that this was the minimum number that could be used for this purpose. The 12 participants for the initial in-depth analysis were selected based on availability of data for all three full waves of data collection, complete and clear interviews (i.e. with minimal participant distraction and translator error), and diversity across the sample. More specifically, I included four men across

the three locations, two of whom are old/elders and two of whom are middle-aged, one of which has a disability. I also selected eight women across the three locations from different groups, age categories (i.e. young, middle-aged, old), and marital statuses (i.e. married, separated, widowed). I wrote detailed case studies for each participant for comparison (Eisenhardt, 1989), each of which included a table detailing the identities most salient for participants and indicating those most related to the participant's identity as a businessperson. The tables included a column for each wave (wave 0 - 3) detailing the meaning participants associated with each identity and related behavior/actions, as well as identity dynamics (e.g. struggle to enact an identity), potential influencers (e.g. sources of learning), and any indications of identity importance. This enabled me to detect changes over time for each participant. I wrote out descriptions of what I saw in the tables to develop a story of each participant's identity journey. This was followed by another table for each participant summarizing the key themes that were coming up such as 'evolving businessperson identity', 'traditional cultural identities', 'identity and social capital', 'external influences', and 'emergence of stratification', including columns detailing what I currently understood and what needed to be explored further. Continued cycling through the founder identity literature as I was analyzing the data (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007) led me to also explore identity structures (i.e. congruent vs incongruent) (Powell & Baker, 2014) and social identity dimensions of basic social motivation, basis of self-evaluation, and frame of reference/relevant others (Fauchart & Gruber, 2011), which were also included in tables in the individual case reports, complemented with detailed explanation regarding what I was seeing for each participant.

As there were a lot of data in each individual case report, I attempted to summarize it visually to facilitate interpretation and comparison (Saldana, 2016). I developed color-coded pictorial representations for each of the 12 participants showing key identities, behaviors/actions, learning/changing meanings, perception of community, and external influences over time (see example in Appendix C). My intent with the pictorial identity analyses was to lay them out across a room to visually discern patterns. However, the number of identities continued to be overwhelming and it was difficult to visually identify meaningful similarities and differences. As some of the

methods literature highlights, sometimes researchers need to follow their ‘gut’ (Miles et al., 2014). I was continuing to explore numerous participant identities and identity dynamics for fear of losing something important, however, my gut kept coming back to the specific tension between what it means to be a community member and what it means to be a businessperson. I therefore elected to focus more specifically on these two identities and the relationship between them and minimize the noise of the other identities, while remaining open to some other identities emerging as important.

While NVivo11 was useful for generating and categorizing codes, I did not find it useful for identifying changes and patterns over time. I therefore applied a method similar to Fauchart and Gruber (2011) whereby I transferred all content related to community member identity and businessperson identity for the 12 participants to a common file to focus my analysis. The quotes were input into a spreadsheet by participant and wave so they could easily be filtered to view snapshots over time and by participant. Beside the quotes I added columns specifying quote type (business vs community), role identity indicators (i.e. behaviors and expectations), social identity indicators (i.e. basic social motivation, basis of self-evaluation, and frame of reference/relevant others), perception of community and self in community, other related self-categorizations, and changes in other identities because of business. I also created a separate table with quotes illustrating the relationship between the two identities (e.g. tension vs no tension) and quotes illustrating responses to tensions, as well as columns detailing community member request type, participant response, and any participant reasoning for the response. Based on these two detailed tables, I created an overview table that compared the 12 participants over time across all of these dimensions (Eisenhardt, 1989; Miles et al., 2014). This enabled me to see patterns across the participants, particularly with respect to the relationship between their community member identity and their businessperson identity and the way they responded to tensions between the two identities over time. I found some participant responses emphasized fulfilling requests from community members regardless of the impact on their business, whereas others prioritized business over helping others (e.g. stop providing goods on credit). Some responses or combinations of responses seemed to be a mix of the two, whereby participants tried to fulfill requests from

community members while minimizing the impact on their business (e.g. just give a little). I initially labelled the responses as ‘conservative’, ‘progressive’, and ‘hybrid’, which I later realized through reflection and feedback were inappropriately labelled based on a Western lens.

Through my comparative analysis I developed a working typology of two entrepreneur identity types, which were a legacy communitarian entrepreneur identity and a new individualist entrepreneur identity. The legacy communitarian entrepreneur identity was conceptualized as emphasizing expectations to help other community members and the new individualist entrepreneur identity, which was theorized to emerge due to contextual changes (e.g. information from external sources), was conceptualized as emphasizing business competitiveness. I developed an early model (illustrated in Appendix D) showing the emergence of the new individualist entrepreneur identity and theorized that participant responses of conservative, progressive, and hybrid were in response to the presence of both the legacy and new entrepreneur identities. My analysis also hinted at other identities that may influence participant responses (e.g. identity as elder in the community, identity as very poor, new role model identity), which were included in the early model, albeit somewhat tentatively.

I developed an early paper around this model which I presented at EGOS 2018 entitled ‘Communitarians and individualists: How multiple identities interact and change to shape entrepreneur behavior at the base-of-the-pyramid’. My aim was to get feedback on my focus and emerging findings to confirm I was headed in the right direction, as well as inform data collection requirements for my final field visit. Positive response and constructive feedback at EGOS confirmed I was on the right track, but that I needed additional and more focused data on the community member identity and the businessperson identity, their relationship, participant responses, and reasons for various responses. This became the focus of my final wave of data collection (wave 4).

Phase 4: Exploring a Tangent – Institutional Logics

While collecting data during wave 4, a question arose regarding the relationship between the identities I was exploring and changing institutional logics (Thornton et al., 2012), whereby there appeared to be a deep-rooted legacy communal/pastoralist logic and a new market/capitalist logic. I

elected to examine this in more detail to ensure I was not missing anything important. Upon my return from the field, I dove into the literature on institutional logics and the relationship between institutional logics and identity. As an experiment, I selected a subset of the 12 participants I had used for trialing of prior approaches (five participants), based on diversity across the subset, and examined both their new wave 4 interviews and their previous interviews (wave 0 - 3), which I re-coded from scratch. Using extant research as a guide (Bertels & Lawrence, 2016; Reay & Jones, 2016), I first reviewed literature describing the market/capitalist logic and numerous anthropological accounts of pastoralists to determine the main attributes and behavior if an individual was guided only by a pastoral/communal logic or only by a market/capitalist logic, thus enabling me to define 'ideal types' (Reay & Jones, 2016). My next step was to evaluate the extent to which each of the two logics was observable in the practices and associated discourse of individuals over time. I first coded all the five participant interviews for business practices (e.g. 'charging interest', 'giving goods on credit', 'loaning money') and meanings/discourse related to the practices (e.g. 'explaining why goods on credit', 'explaining why no interest'). I then evaluated my empirical data based on the ideal types using a method similar to Goodrick and Reay (2011), whereby I used numeric ratings to measure the proximity of practices to the ideal type to determine the extent to which each logic guides behavior. For example, 'sharing business goods' was scored as 1 for the communal/pastoralist logic and as 0 for the market/capitalist logic, and 'stop giving goods on credit' was scored as 0 for the communal/pastoralist logic and as 1 for the market/capitalist logic. Some practices were scored as 0.5 for each logic, for example where someone shares personal items but not business items.

This method enabled me to determine if a participant's business behavior was shaped more by the communal/pastoral logic (categorized as a communitarian entrepreneur) or by the market/capitalist logic (categorized as an individualist entrepreneur), or alternatively by a combination of both logics (categorized as a hybrid entrepreneur). While there were gaps in the data from earlier interviews that focused on a broader range of topics, this analysis did provide some indication of change over time. Based on this analysis I developed a two-by-two matrix with logics on the x-axis (labelled traditional versus progressive) and entrepreneur type on the y-axis (labelled

capitalist versus communitarian) and mapped where the five participants sat in the matrix. I elected to present my emerging findings at the Values Driven Entrepreneurship & Societal Impact Conference in Cape Town in May 2019 to see if I was on the right track and solicit feedback. My presentation was titled 'Communitarians & Capitalists: How different entrepreneur identities emerge in an evolving institutional environment' and included a sample of my matrix and exemplary quotes (illustrated in Appendix E). My shift in focus was not well received by those familiar with my earlier work and I was advised to return to my previous focus of examining the emergence of individual founder identity constellations and changes, which forms my final phase of analysis. While I did not subsequently use my examination of institutional logics and entrepreneur identity, looking at part of my data through a different lens provided additional insight into my data and participants, and a window into a different perspective which may be interesting for future research.

Phase 5: Deep Dive into Patterns and Changes in Founder Identity Constellations

In this next phase of data coding and analysis, I excluded participants who were not available in wave 4 because this wave of data collection was crucial to understanding participant experiences of community expectations and business obligations, as well as their responses to tensions and reasons for the responses. I additionally excluded participants who were not available in wave 1 or who missed more than one wave of data collection as this would limit my ability to identify changes over time. Referring back to Table 3, the remaining sample participants were those in patterns 1, 3, 9, 11 and 12, which includes 38 participants. An additional 13 participants were excluded due to either lack of data or poor data, which was caused by factors such as bad translation, participant distraction, or interview interruption. This resulted in a final sample of 25 participants for the final phases of data coding and analysis, an overview of which is provided in Table 4.

Table 4: Overview of Final Sample of 25 Participants

Case #	Group #	Gender	Estimated Age Category	Business Experience Before Current Program	Individual Business Type at First Interview	Individual Business Type at Wave 4	Wave Availability
1	8	Female	Young	Some	PT (NR)	PT + GT	1, 2, 3, 4
2	4	Female	Old/Elder	None	None	PT	0, 1, 2, 4
3	8	Male	Middle-Aged	Some	PT + GT	K + R	1, 2, 3, 4
4	8	Female	Middle-Aged	Some	PT (NR) + GT	PT + GT	1, 2, 3, 4
5	3	Female	Middle-Aged	Some	PT	PT + GT	1, 2, 3, 4
6	5	Male	Old/Elder	Advanced	PT	PT + GT	1, 2, 3, 4
7	6	Female	Middle-Aged	Some	PT + GT	PT	1, 2, 3, 4
8	5	Female	Middle-Aged	None	PT	PT	1, 2, 3, 4
9	2	Female	Young	None	PT	PT	1, 2, 3, 4
10	6	Female	Middle-Aged	None	PT + GT	PT + GT	1, 2, 3, 4
11	4	Female	Young	None	PT	PT + GT	0, 1, 2, 3, 4
12	10	Female	Young	None	GT + BU	GT + BE + R	1, 2, 3, 4
13	10	Female	Middle-Aged	Some	GT	GT + BU + PT	0, 1, 2, 3, 4
14	9	Female	Young	Some	PT + GT	PT	0, 1, 2, 3, 4
15	3	Female	Middle-Aged	Some	PT + BU	PT	1, 2, 3, 4
16	7	Female	Young	Some	PT + GT	PT	1, 2, 3, 4
17	8	Female	Young	Some	BE + K	BE + K	1, 2, 3, 4
18	9	Female	Middle-Aged	Some	PT + GT	PT + GT	0, 1, 2, 4
19	6	Male	Old/Elder	None	None	PT + GT	1, 3, 4
20	6	Female	Middle-Aged	None	PT + GT	PT + GT	1, 2, 3, 4
21	10	Female	Young	Some	GT	GT	1, 2, 3, 4
22	10	Male	Middle-Aged	Some	GT + CT	GT + CT	1, 3, 4
23	2	Male	Middle-Aged	Some	BE	BE	1, 2, 4
24	3	Female	Old/Elder	Some	PT + GT	PT + GT	1, 2, 3, 4
25	10	Female	Old/Elder	None	GT	GT + BE	1, 2, 3, 4

BE = Beads, BU = Butchery, CT = Camel Trade, GT = Goat Trade, K = Kiosk, PT = Petty Trade, R = Rental House/Rooms (NR) = Natural Resources (making & selling items from natural resources only; no buying & selling of goods for profit)

Following further review of the extant literature (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007) on founder identity, I focused my coding on identifying role and social identities that are salient in a founder's daily work (Powell & Baker, 2014). I coded identities in a manner similar to Powell and Baker (2014), looking for indications of 'who I am (not)' and 'who I want to be (not)' as a founder. I also looked for indications of 'who I was (not)' to identify changes over time. In order to ensure I did not miss any important social identity indicators or influences or changes on a community level, I also looked for indications of 'who we were (not)', 'who we are (not)', and 'who we want to be (not)'.

As I coded each piece of data, I gave it a descriptive code and immediately included that code under the appropriate category. For example, data coded as 'sharer', 'selective sharer', 'revenue generator', 'interest charger', 'saver', 'budgeter', 'not a credit provider', and 'not a money lender' were grouped under the category of 'who I am (not)' where a participant was referring to themselves. Codes such as 'mutual aiders', 'not sharers', 'own customers', and 'credit takers' were grouped under the category of 'who we are (not)' where a participant was referring to a collective.

While coding 'I' versus 'we' statements, I was cognizant that participants, or transcribers when translating, often use 'we' to refer to 'I'. Therefore, I could not simply assume use of the term 'we' referred to a collective. However, I had spent enough time with the participants and the data to be able to decipher whether the participant was referring to themselves or a collective in their statements. As I wanted to understand what influenced changes, I continued to code for external influences including both the source and content of the influence (e.g. 'NGO' as source, and 'learning about business' as content). As part of this process I reviewed participants' previously coded interviews and re-coded and added codes as required to ensure I had a complete picture for each participant and could detect changes over time.

In order to facilitate interpretation of the data including understanding change over time for each participant and making comparisons across participants, I developed a detailed table (Eisenhardt, 1989; Miles et al., 2014), including the key codes representing identities and behaviors as a founder, as well as associated discourse and exemplary quotes. The data was arrayed by participant and wave so I could apply various filters to view different snapshots of the data. As I added participant data to the table, I simultaneously made comparisons across participants, and identified patterns when I reached 15 participants. I explored these patterns in more depth using various approaches to fully understand what I was seeing to later test the patterns across the remaining sample (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007).

As I reviewed the table, I identified more useful categories for various codes. For example, codes such as 'not sharer', 'sharer (business goods)', 'sharer (personal goods only)', and 'selective sharer' all related to how a participant was enacting (or not) the role identity of 'sharer', and codes such as 'budgeter', 'record keeper', 'saver (individual)', and 'saver (bank account)' related to a broader role identity of 'financial manager'. Grouping similar codes in this way led me to identify six salient role identities of 'sharer', 'credit provider', 'money lender', 'sales manager', 'financial manager', and 'bank borrower', which were further categorized into extant social safety net role identities (sharer, credit provider, money lender) and new business role identities (sales manager, financial manager, bank borrower) introduced through business education and exposure.

As I reviewed the associated discourse relating to founders' various role identities, the tensions I had identified earlier continued to be apparent. Whereas I had previously seen it as a tension between a community member identity and a businessperson identity, I now saw it more specifically as a tension between extant social safety net role identities and new business role identities. For example, several participants described how fulfilling expectations for goods on credit or handouts of business goods made it difficult to fulfill objectives to maintain business and generate profit and savings. I once again cycled back to the extant literature (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007) where I was reminded by the identity literature of the various ways individuals respond to identity conflict (Ashforth et al., 2008). I returned to the interviews and coded them specifically for responses to expectations associated with different roles and other indications of responses to identity conflict. This included codes such as 'accepting expectations to share', 'accepting delayed payments', 'rejecting expectations for credit', 'reframing role of money lender', 'reranking saver', and 'reranking revenue generator'. In order to capture founder social identities, I also coded participant statements that represented their values as a founder, which included codes such as 'emphasizing personal we', 'emphasizing self', and 'emphasizing hybrid' (Fauchart & Gruber, 2011; Gruber & MacMillan, 2017).

In order to further interpret the data, I developed another table (Eisenhardt, 1989; Miles et al., 2014) that included the 15 participants, which summarized key dimensions for each participant by wave including behavior and discourse relating to handouts, credit provision, money lending, business role behaviors, and founder values, as well as responses to expectations/tensions and key external influencers. The table enabled me to identify additional patterns across participants, leading to early classifications of participants as 'collectivist', 'hybrid', or 'individualist' founders, including changes over time for each participant. Participants were classified as collectivist founders if their role and social identities as a founder emphasized the 'personal we', and they were classified as individualist founders if their role and social identities as a founder emphasized the 'self'. Alternatively, participants were classified as hybrid founders if their role and social identities as a founder emphasized a combination of the 'personal we' and the 'self'.

Because I am a very visual thinker, I once again referred to the guidance of Saldana (2016) to develop visuals to aid with data interpretation and theory building. I therefore developed founder identity charts for each of the 15 participants based on my initial interpretations of how their founder identity changed over time and why (see example in Appendix F). As I developed the charts and compared similarities and differences across participants, I found all participants started with an extant collectivist social identity and associated social safety net role identities, which were prioritized when they initially became founders. I also found that over time as new business roles were introduced and emphasized, founders responded to different role expectations and the tensions between extant social safety net role identities and new business role identities in a number of ways. Some participants maintained extant social safety net roles and their prioritization in the role identity hierarchy (labelled as 'retain'), and some participants de-prioritized extant social safety net roles as new business roles were adopted and/or became more important (labelled as '(re)rank'). In addition, some participants applied new meanings to extant social safety net roles (labelled as 'reframe'), removed extant social safety net roles (labelled as 'remove'), or separated extant social safety net roles from their founder identity while retaining them as part of a non-founder identity (labelled as 'ramify'). Some participants also seemed to revive a previously removed extant social safety net role identity or previous prioritization of extant role identities over time (labelled as 'revive'). I further found that different combinations of responses were associated with different pathways, whereby a participant either maintained emphasis on helping others, thus becoming a collectivist founder, tried to balance helping others and maintaining business and generating profit and savings, thus becoming a hybrid founder, or transformed to emphasize business continuity, profit, and savings over helping others, thus becoming an individualist founder.

Based on the patterns I identified, I developed an early model of founder identity emergence (illustrated in Appendix G). I solicited feedback on this early model from identity and founder identity scholars at The Academy of Management Conference in 2019. I received positive feedback on my emerging findings and model but was advised to re-work the model to clearly illustrate the identity conflict, how different responses to conflict lead to different pathways and founder identities, and

why founders follow one pathway versus another. This formed the focus of my final phase of analysis and theory building.

Phase 6: Re-Working the Model and Adding the 'Why'

I began this phase of analysis and theory building by cycling back through the case data, early theory and extant literature (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007) with fresh eyes. I found the identity management response of 'retain' was similar to that of '(re)rank' in that they both involved ranking of role identities: the former prioritized extant social safety net role identities and the latter prioritized new business role identities. I therefore re-labelled these 'ranking (extant > new)' and 'ranking (new > extant)'. I also removed the response of 'revive' as I found it fit into the response of 'ranking (extant > new)'. I therefore ended up with five responses to identity conflict between extant social safety net role identities and new business role identities, which are 'ranking (extant > new)', 'ranking (new > extant)', 'reframing', 'ramifying'¹, and 'removing'. While the response of ranking (extant > new) emphasizes helping others over business maintenance and growth, the other responses all emphasize business maintenance and growth over helping others. Therefore, where participants applied a single response of ranking (extant > new), they were categorized as following the maintaining pathway, whereas participants who did not apply this response at all were categorized as following the transforming pathway. Alternatively, founders who applied both the response of ranking (extant > new) and some of the other responses were categorized as following the balancing pathway. Participants who followed the balancing pathway only applied two or three responses, which always included ranking (extant > new) in combination with ranking (new > extant) and/or reframing. They did not apply the responses of ramifying or removing. I re-worked the model to better illustrate both the identity conflict between extant social safety net role identities and new business role identities introduced through education and exposure, as well as the responses and their relationship to the different pathways and outcome founder identities. However, I still needed to address the question of why participants followed one pathway versus another.

¹ 'Ramifying' was later changed to 'decoupling' following examiner feedback on my thesis.

I examined various participant attributes to determine if there were any patterns, including location, group, gender, age, marital status, disability, education, and prior business experience. None of these attributes were found to explain why a participant follows one pathway versus another. However, as I reviewed the discourse relating to founders' various role identities, I noticed some founders' behaviors or responses seemed to be shaped by a belief in curses, whereby they fear that if they do not fulfill expectations for help from community members, they will face repercussions in the form of curses. I therefore cycled back to the interviews looking specifically for indications of belief or non-belief in curses and how these beliefs shape behavior. I found that some participants believed in curses, others believed in curses but did not believe they applied to business resources and practices, and others did not believe in curses because of their religion. I coded these respectively as 'fearing curses', 'not fearing curses re business', and 'not fearing curses because of religion', and later changed them to 'curse believer social identity', 'adapted curse believer social identity' and 'religious believer social identity'.

I added an additional column to my summary table to identify which of the three social identities each participant held and to identify patterns across participants (Eisenhardt, 1989; Miles et al., 2014) to determine whether the social identity they held was associated with the founder identity pathway they followed. I found participants who followed the transforming pathway to become individualist founders did not believe in curses at all or did not believe curses applied to business. They therefore held either a religious believer social identity or an adapted curse believer social identity. I further found that participants who followed the balancing pathway or the maintaining pathway had a curse believer social identity, except for one participant who followed the maintaining pathway and did not believe in curses because of a religious identity. Initially I perceived her to be an outlier who did not fit the model. I considered excluding the outlier until I questioned why some curse believers follow the maintaining pathway while others follow the balancing pathway. This question led me to cycle back to anthropologist accounts to better understand the identity of curse believer, at which time I realized my outlier helped answer my question. I found that all participants who followed the maintaining pathway did so because of a strong internalization and

importance associated with their extant collectivist social identity. They were not helping others out of need for reciprocation or fear of curses, but rather because they had the heart to help, regardless of whether they had a curse believer social identity or a religious believer social identity that negated the fear of curses. I therefore re-worked the model to illustrate how these four social identities of collectivist, curse believer, adapted curse believer, and religious believer regulate which pathway a participant follows.

Thinking I had finally finished my model, I put it aside, but my gut kept telling me something was still missing. The model appeared to illustrate smooth emergence and adoption of new founder identities, but I knew this was not the case as participants had recounted their struggles with community members accepting new behaviors and expectations. I once again cycled back to the extant literature (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007) whereby I learned more about external identity work, which is work an individual engages in, through talk and action, to influence how others see them (Watson, 2008). I once again returned to the interviews to understand what forms of talk and action participants engaged in to increase understanding and acceptance of new behaviors and expectations, and ultimately to change perceptions of who they are as a founder. Where participants worked to educate other community members about new behaviors and expectations through talk, I coded this as 'explanation', and where participants worked to rigidly reinforce new behaviors and expectations through action, I coded this as 'enforcement'. In addition, where participants sought assistance from respected others to reinforce new behaviors and expectations, I coded this as 'leveraging authority figures'. I thus added this missing piece of external identity work to my model. My final model and a detailed explanation of my findings are provided in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS

CHAPTER INTRODUCTION

Figure 5 diagrams my model of founder identity emergence. At the starting point are extant deep-rooted identities that define individuals and shape their behavior within the community prior to learning about business. The particularly salient extant identities that relate to the emergence of founder identities are a collectivist social identity and a social safety net role identity, including sub-role identities of sharer, credit provider, and money lender. When individuals experience business education and exposure through NGO programs and in some cases additionally through external founders or school-going children, they learn about and may adopt a new business role identity. This includes sub-role identities of sales manager and financial manager and may also include a bank borrower role identity.

When individuals adopt the new business role identities, they experience conflict between these new identities, which emphasize business maintenance, profit, and savings, and their extant social safety net role identities, which emphasize helping needy community members. Founders cannot concurrently fulfill simultaneous conflicting demands associated with their extant role identities and their new role identities, thus creating tension. Founders respond to the conflict through a variety of responses, including ranking extant role identities higher in their salience hierarchy than new role identities (ranking (extant > new)) and prioritizing new role identities over extant role identities (ranking (new > extant)). Founder responses also include changing the meaning of extant role identities to align with new role identities (reframing), separating extant role identities from one's founder identity but retaining them as part of a non-founder identity (decoupling), and killing off an extant role identity entirely to emphasize new role identities (removing).

Based on the response or combination of responses a founder adopts, they either maintain emphasis on extant identities, balance emphasis between some extant identities and some new identities, or transform to emphasize new identities. Founders who follow the 'maintaining' pathway become 'collectivist' founders whose identity as a founder emphasizes the extant collectivist social

identity and prioritizes extant social safety net role identities. Collectivist founders run their business in a way that prioritizes helping others over business continuity, profit, and savings. Founders who follow the 'balancing' pathway become 'hybrid' founders whose identity as a founder includes characteristics of both the extant collectivist social identity and an individualist social identity and emphasizes some extant social safety net role identities and some new business role identities. Hybrid founders run their business in a way whereby they try to juggle helping others and maintaining business and generating profit and savings, without necessarily optimizing either. Alternatively, founders who follow the 'transforming' pathway become 'individualist' founders whose identity as a founder emphasizes an individualist social identity and new business role identities. Individualist founders run their business in a way that prioritizes business continuity, profit, and savings over helping others.

Founders who follow the balancing or transforming pathway face external resistance as they respond in new ways to the identity conflict, which are associated with new behaviors and new counterrole expectations that do not align with deep-rooted extant values, norms, and expectations. These founders therefore must engage in external identity work to increase understanding and acceptance of new behaviors and expectations, and ultimately to change perceptions of who they are as a founder. Founders use mechanisms of explanation, enforcement, and leveraging authority figures in their external identity work.

Over time, with continued business education, exposure, and experience, and as new behaviors and expectations become increasingly accepted and understood, more founders shift pathways to become hybrid or individualist founders. However, some founders continue to follow the maintaining pathway and retain their collectivist founder identity, and others do not shift beyond the balancing pathway, thus retaining a hybrid founder identity.

My model explains why founders follow different pathways and why some founders shift pathways over time while others do not. The pathway a founder follows, and therefore who a founder becomes, is regulated by the degree of internalization and importance of extant identities that become part of what it means to be a founder in addition to other social identities held by the

founder. Founders who fully internalize and place high importance on the extant collectivist social identity, continue to maintain this identity as central to who they are as a founder, regardless of business education, exposure, and experience. These founders do not adjust their founder identity over time, but rather maintain a collectivist founder identity. In contrast, founders for whom the extant collectivist social identity is less internalized and important shift to the balancing or transforming pathway with business education, exposure, and experience. However, the pathway they shift to, and therefore who they become as a founder, is regulated by other social identities that are salient for them. Founders with a curse believer social identity follow the balancing pathway and become hybrid founders. They do not follow the transforming pathway to become individualist founders because their fear of curses dictates that they retain emphasis on some of their extant social safety net role identities or something bad will happen to them or their families. Founders who adopt a new adapted curse believer social identity due to business education and exposure believe in curses but do not believe they apply to business resources or practices. These founders, and those with a religious identity that negates the belief in curses, follow the transforming pathway and become individualist founders because they do not fear repercussions in the form of curses if they do not prioritize helping needy community members over business continuity, profit, and savings.

My findings therefore not only explain how founder identities emerge and change through processes of identity conflict and varied responses and external identity work, I also address why founders follow different pathways and therefore adopt different founder identities. The following sections describe and illustrate each part of the model in Figure 5 using data from 13 exemplary cases. Table 5 arrays the model components for each of these 13 exemplary cases. Throughout, all names have been changed to protect participant confidentiality.

Figure 5: Model of Founder Identity Emergence

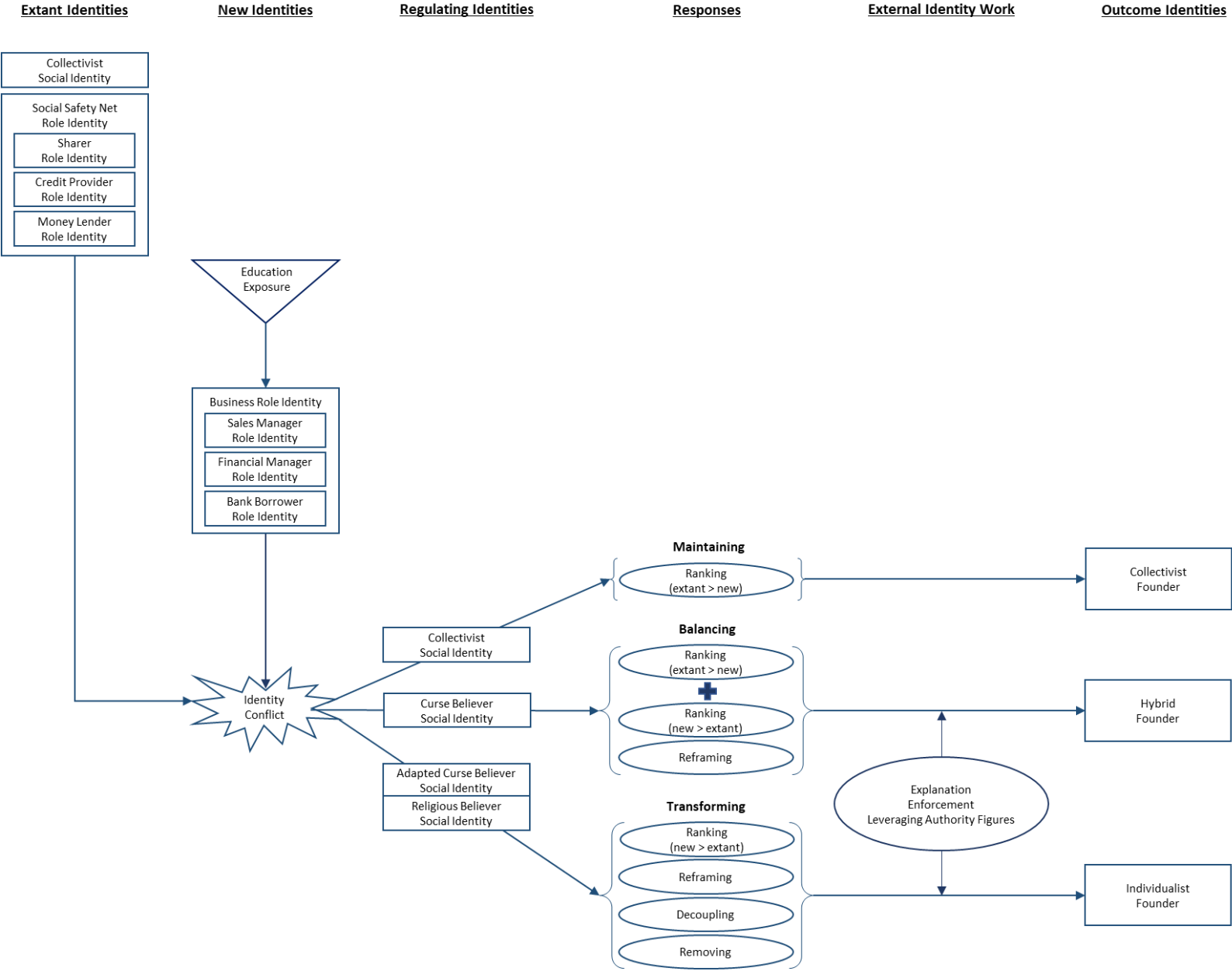


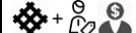




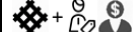




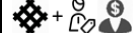
















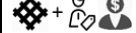




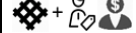




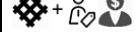




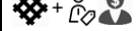




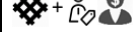




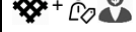




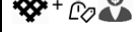




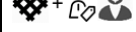




Table 5: Model Elements by Founder for the Exemplary Cases

Case #	Founder	Extant Identities	New Identities	Identity Conflict	Responses					Pathway	Outcome Founder Identity	Regulating Identity
					Ranking (extant > new)	Ranking (new > extant)	Reframing	Decoupling	Removing			
1	Loltepes				X					Maintaining		
2	Dararo				X					Maintaining		
3	Christopher				X					Maintaining		
4	Kureya		 		X	X				Balancing		
5	Jennifer		 		X	X	X			Balancing		
6	Hurisha				X	X	X			Balancing		
7	Silapini				X		X			Balancing		
8	Nasanten					X		X		Transforming		
9	Mayani						X		X	Transforming		
10	Ramaten							X	X	Transforming		
11	Sabdio					X	X			Transforming		
12	Seneka							X		Transforming		
13	Nosilale					X		X		Transforming		

 Collectivist
  Social Safety Net
  Sales Manager
  Financial Manager
  Bank Borrower
  Hybrid
  Individualist
  Curse Believer
  Adapted Curse Believer
  Religious Believer

EXTANT IDENTITIES

Extant identities are those held by founders prior to being introduced to business. Analysis of founder statements, field observations, and anthropologist accounts revealed that founders have two particularly salient extant identities, which are a collectivist social identity and an associated social safety net role identity, which includes sub-role identities of sharer, credit provider, and money lender. This section discusses these identities in more detail, including illustrations from founder data, which are arrayed in Table 6.

Collectivist Social Identity and Social Safety Net Role Identity

All 25 founders in the sample have an extant collectivist social identity based on 'nkanyit', which is a local word meaning 'a sense of respect'. Anthropologists describe nkanyit as a fundamental value in the culture that "dictates a certain selflessness, evenhandedness, and cool-headedness, giving everyone their due even if it is at your expense" (Holtzman, 2009, p.122). It is therefore associated with mutual aid and generosity, whereby greed and stinginess are considered character flaws that are subject to social shame and fatal curses (Holtzman, 2009). However, there is a duplicity associated with nkanyit, which is exacerbated by extreme resource scarcity and constant threat of starvation. As Holtzman (2009) explains:

If in principle a deeply internalized sense of nkanyit should negate natural tendencies toward greed and stinginess, in practice the art of remaining alive while living through nkanyit necessitates a delicate dance of vigorously seeking resources while avoiding the appearance of doing so greedily, and denying resources to others while never appearing to do so stingily. (p. 132)












Thus, whether an individual fully internalizes a sense of respect or not, they must be seen to live a life of respect and therefore must "*not clearly and visibly wrong someone*" (Holtzman, 2009, p. 123, emphasis added). The collectivist social identity is associated with a congruent social safety net role identity that includes roles such as sharer, credit provider, and money lender, whereby those who have food, money, or livestock are expected to share what they have with needy community members, or to provide loans, such as livestock loans, which are sometimes only repaid after generations.



Hurisha (Case #6) describes his extant collectivist and social safety net identities as involving mutual aid and generosity in the form of helping others through handouts and livestock loans. He explains, “Even before we started doing business you can sell one goat and share [the money] among three people.” He also explains, “The poor can also borrow livestock to give them milk for the children, that is an ancient practice here in the community.” Loltepes (Case #1) similarly describes her extant collectivist social identity as one of mutual aid and generosity and her social safety net role identity as involving fulfillment of expectations to share. She explains, “In our culture we help each other” and “You will be able to help if they [needy community members] come see you.” In another example, Sabdio’s (Case #11) extant collectivist and social safety net identities are illuminated through her statements of what is important to her as she initially experiences various external interventions. For example, when she starts receiving a government cash stipend, she explains, “When I get this money, I also called my neighbor and we enjoy together.” When she is later put into a savings group as part of the NGO program, she wants to give or loan group savings to community members outside the group, explaining, “We cannot just see people suffer while we have money.” In addition, when she later learns about business, she perceives it as a way to further express her extant identities, explaining:

It [business] is important because when I say that I mean my relative can get help from me, they will say that I want to go and borrow from her because she has these things and the rest. I will be able to help feed that person who might be my relative, that is important to me.

All 13 exemplary cases similarly describe their extant collectivist social identity as involving mutual aid and generosity, and their associated social safety net role identity as fulfilling expectations from needy community members for handouts and loans of money or goods such as livestock. Table 6 provides additional founder data illustrating the extant collectivist social identity and social safety net role identity for the 13 exemplary cases. As previously stated, all 25 cases in the founder sample had extant collectivist and social safety net identities prior to learning about business.

Table 6: Extant Identities Among Exemplary Cases

Case #	Founder	Extant Identities	Illustrative Founder Data
1	Loltepes		Illustrated by her expression of mutual aid and generosity and fulfillment of expectations to share. She explains, "In our culture we help each other" and "You will be able to help if they [needy community members] come see you."
2	Dararo		Illustrated by her values of mutual aid and generosity, and her pre-founder perception that business will enable her to fulfill expectations to share. As she learns about business, she explains, "Even if someone comes to borrow from you now, you have something to give."
3	Christopher		Illustrated by his values of mutual aid and generosity, and fulfillment of expectations to share. He explains, "The community needs you" and describes himself as someone who "doesn't know how to say no to some people," which the local translator clarifies as: "He has that heart to give out, so when people ask him, he gives."
4	Kureya		Illustrated by her values of mutual aid and generosity, and her desire to fulfill expectations to help others and be seen as a "good" community member. She describes how she was in the past, explaining, "We didn't know anything before, we just helped each other, but there was no knowledge of loans." She continues to retain these identities, explaining, "I want to be viewed as a good person, no one wants to be viewed badly. It is good when they refer to you as a good individual and who can readily help and not those who can be viewed badly."
5	Jennifer		Illustrated by her values of mutual aid and generosity, and fulfillment of expectations to share. She explains, "There are some who approach you, they are very hungry, you just have mercy on her."
6	Hurisha		Illustrated by his values of mutual aid and generosity, and his desire to fulfill expectations to help others and share. He explains, "Even before we started doing business you can sell one goat and share [the money] among three people" and "The poor can also borrow livestock to give them milk for the children, that is an ancient practice here in the community."
7	Silapini		She touches on her extant identities when she refers to values of mutual aid and generosity, and the associated roles of sharer/credit provider/money lender, which were prevalent before learning about business. She explains, "It's true that before [business] people do help each other", which she continues to do, explaining, "I give them some little stuffs so they will bless me."
8	Nasanten		Illustrated by her values of mutual aid and generosity, and her happiness when she is able to fulfill expectations to share when she initially starts business. She explains, "I am very happy today that people can borrow from me, they know I have something to give. Before no one tries to borrow from me, even talking about me was a story like no one thinks I will ever help. Look at me now, I can help people in the community both family and neighbors."
9	Mayani		Illustrated by her values of mutual aid and generosity, and fulfillment of expectations to share and loan, which she refers to in the past, explaining, "Before we used to borrow from each other, we didn't know about business. We used to sell a cow and buy the food and people came to us for food for their children and we gave them."
10	Ramaten		Illustrated when she describes her previous values of mutual aid and generosity, and how she used to provide goods for free. She explains, "There was a problem in making them [community members] understand, they have been used to these free goods that you gave them, so when you start to sell them, they get irritated."
11	Sabdio		Illustrated by the importance placed on mutual aid and generosity, and fulfillment of expectations to share as she experiences various external interventions. For example, when she receives a government cash stipend, she explains, "When I get this money, I also called my neighbor and we enjoy together." When she is put into a savings group as part of the NGO program, she wants to give or loan group savings to community members outside the group, explaining, "We cannot just see people suffer while we have money." When she later learns about business she perceives it as a way to further express her extant identities, explaining, "It [business] is important because when I say that I mean my relative can get help from me, they will say that I want to go and borrow from her because she has these things and the rest. I will be able to help feed that person who might be my relative, that is important to me."

12	Seneka		Illustrated when she describes her previous values of mutual aid and generosity, and willingness to readily fulfill expectations to share, saying, “We used to give them [money to needy community members].”
13	Nosilale		Illustrated by her values of mutual aid and generosity, and fulfillment of expectations to help others. When asked about helping needy community members, she replies, “They are being helped because when they don't have a livestock you can give them a goat to get milk from.”

 Collectivist  Social Safety Net

NEW IDENTITIES

New identities are those that did not exist for founders prior to business education and exposure. For example, because business is nascent in this context, founders previously had little or no knowledge of even basic roles and related behaviors typically associated with business, including buying and selling goods, calculating profit, saving, and budgeting. The analysis of founder statements and field observations revealed three particularly salient new role identities of sales manager, financial manager, and bank borrower. Founders learn about these new identities primarily through NGO education, and in some cases, they are reinforced or expanded upon through education from school-going children, which is increasingly encouraged by government, NGOs, and religious organizations. Founders additionally learn about these new identities through increased exposure to other founders, in part due to new infrastructure such as livestock markets and a new tarmac road that has eased transportation into and out of the area. This section discusses the new identities in more detail, as well as their primary sources, including illustrations from founder data, which are arrayed in Table 7.

Sales Manager and Financial Manager Role Identities

Founders with a sales manager role identity embody associated expectations of buying and selling items for profit (e.g. food, detergent, petrol, livestock) and in some cases producing and selling items from natural resources (e.g. teeth cleaning sticks, brooms made from branches). They recognize the value of the products they sell and place importance on margins generated from those products. For example, Nosilale (Case #13) explains:

I am doing the goats business and when the prices are not good, I don't sell them. When there is no profit at the market, then I go to the butcheries with the goats so that I can get the best profit available.

Loltepes (Case #1) similarly describes her role of buying and selling items and the importance of generating profit. She explains:

When I first started [business], I started selling brooms and the tooth brushes, then later miraa [khat leaves], and finally the goats... I had just started with that because there is profit. If I see one is not making profit I change to the other.

In another example, Ramaten (Case #10) describes her sales manager role identity in a similar way, explaining, "I started by selling sugar and accumulated the profits, then I bought crates of tusker [beer], I did the same to it, then I bought solar [flashlights] and detergents."

In addition to their new sales manager role identity, these three exemplary cases also learn about and adopt a new role of financial manager. Founders with a financial manager role identity embody associated expectations of saving money earned through business, whether informally through a savings group or at home, or formally in a bank account. They also budget to cover business expenses, ensure continuity of business stock, and possibly invest in new opportunities, in addition to fulfilling family needs. For example, Ramaten describes how she saves money earned through business and budgets to invest in new opportunities, explaining:

I am making savings, I was buying goats to plan for the shop, while there we do tailoring, and you have your own shop to sell. While in the business you can expand it to other businesses like phone charging, you will earn more income from all those businesses.

Loltepes also describes her role of financial manager as involving saving and budgeting. She explains, "It [bank account] is good because you save your money in it. We didn't know about it before, they [CBF] just taught us recently. You do business and make your savings in it." She also notes that she budgets for business and personal needs, saying, "I will budget for everything." Nosilale similarly explains how she budgets for business and personal expenses, as well as saves profit in a newly opened bank account. She explains, "I sell the goats and the food stuffs, and the profit, if it is three thousand, I will give that to the children's food and the rest for the business." She also explains, "We now have the bank accounts and every Wednesday we make the deposits."

All three of these exemplary cases describe learning about the roles of sales and financial manager through NGO education, with additional learning from exposure to other founders. For example, Loltepes explains:

There are many things that have helped us, the savings that we didn't know before, the business and the profit that you will save later, the loans and how to pay back the loan... We are not as we used to be... because we didn't know about anything before, and they [CBF] have enlightened us.

She also explains that exposure to founders outside her village augmented her learning from NGO education, saying "I learnt it [business] in the town, though I knew about it as well." Ramaten and Nosilale similarly describe NGO education and exposure to other founders outside their village as primary sources of learning about the roles of sales and financial manager. For example, Ramaten explains:

I have put into practice what my teacher has taught me... So, I said I will try doing what the teacher is saying and see if I can progress well. We bought sugar and later rice, the tea leaves and later beers. So, I have learnt a lot and I have become a business woman... And later flashlights.

She also explains:

I [also] got that experience [business knowledge] from the friends in town who are doing business, we watched them doing business and we saw how they are doing well. At times they can even tell us how they have started with a small thing to the place he is now. That motivates us to do a business slowly and we hope to grow.

In addition to NGO education and exposure to other founders, some founders also highlight supplementary learning about roles and related behaviors from school-going children, and in some cases other educated relatives. For example, Nasanten (Case #8) learns about the role of sales and financial manager through NGO education and other founders who are part of her program savings group. She explains, "They [CBF] have taught me how to look for income and how to be self-reliant by doing business" and "The old members of the groups share with us on how to make profits in the group and also they tell us what to do so as to generate a little more cash. They tell us how important is saving and how to save too." In addition, she describes that she also learns about saving and budgeting from her school-going children:

The children as well go to school and tell us to separate money from the business and the rest. When you get problems, you can help yourself... I make

my own savings and do business so that I don't go and borrow from others when I encounter difficulties.

All 25 founders in the sample adopt new sales and financial manager role identities, which are similarly described across the 13 exemplary cases, whereby the new sales manager role emphasizes buying and selling goods for profit (or producing and selling goods from natural resources) and the new financial manager role emphasizes saving and budgeting. In all 13 exemplary cases, the new identities of sales manager and financial manager are constructed through NGO education, with six cases (#1,7,8,10,12,13) also specifically highlighting the influence of exposure to other founders, one case (#8) also highlighting supplementary education from school-going children, and one case (#6) also highlighting learning from educated relatives. Table 7 provides additional founder data illustrating the new sales manager and financial manager role identities for the 13 exemplary cases, as well as illustrations of primary sources of learning.

Bank Borrower Role Identity

Founders with a bank borrower role identity embody expectations of taking bank loans for business and repaying them with interest according to specified deadlines. Prior to NGO education, most of the founders did not know about banks or how formal bank loans work. As previously described, loans in this context have traditionally comprised livestock loans, which may be repaid over generations and do not involve the concept of interest. Jennifer (Case #5) describes learning about the role of bank borrower and its associated expectations through NGO education, explaining:

They have taught us about business and about loans, and they told us that we should not be just getting money and not doing business... When you do business, save some profits for the children and pay some to the loan. Don't just use the money once and for all. Do business and make savings... They told us that when people borrow money from you, tell them that is a loan and you don't need to give it out. Even if it is your brother, or a friend, a loan doesn't want anything like that because you will need to pay it... When you have a business, you will be able to buy a bed and shoes, but a loan as it is must go to the business. But they haven't told us not to use the loan for food. Some say we can use it for food and you don't need to go hungry while doing business. You can use it but you should have a way to pay it back... We were afraid to take the loan before because of the fear of being arrested by the government. They told us that it is a good thing and that the government cannot lead us in trouble, that is when we went to get the loans.

She adopts the role of bank borrower and the associated expectations and behavior. As she further explains:

I started with twenty thousand at first, twenty, and continued like that to take a bigger one [bank loan] when I finished the smaller one. I have taken twice. The first one just bought three goats and I bought some stuff for the shop, I gave the boy [son] six thousand since he was chased from school... The remainder which is fifteen thousand had gone to the business, I bought a sack of sugar and maize flour, which are in some smaller packages, and continued like that.

Kureya (Case #4) similarly describes learning about the role of bank borrower through NGO education:






We have got the knowledge and they have even taught us about loans, and you can get up to twenty thousand and you can open a shop and buy goats and take them to Isiolo or Archers Post as you are doing the little brooms business.






She also adopts the role of bank borrower and highlights the importance of fulfilling expectations to repay the loan, explaining:





The other business that I have has helped me as well [make loan repayments]. If the loan is small and it doesn't help, then the business will supplement, the teeth sticks and the cigarettes, to take care of the loan if the business I did with the borrowed loan doesn't manage to help pay it back.



Across the 13 exemplary cases, two founders (#4,5) adopt the new role of bank borrower and similarly describe it as including expectations to use bank loans primarily for business and repay with interest according to specified deadlines. Where founders have not adopted the new role of bank borrower, it is often because they have not yet been given the opportunity to take bank loans as part of the NGO program or because they continue to fear them. For example, Mayani (Case #9) refuses to take a bank loan because she is worried if she cannot repay, she will be arrested and taken away from her home and children. She says, "I would rather die with my problems than be arrested." Table 7 provides founder data illustrating the new bank borrower role identity where it is present in the exemplary cases, as well as illustrations of primary sources of learning. In the sample of 25 founders, seven cases adopt the new bank borrower role identity.

Table 7: New Identities Among Exemplary Cases

Case #	Founder	New Identities	Illustrative Founder Data
1	Loltepes		<p>Sales Manager: Describes her role of buying and selling goods for profit: “When I first started [business], I started selling brooms and the tooth brushes, then later miraa [khat leaves], and finally the goats... I had just started with that because there is profit. If I see one is not making profit I change to the other.”</p> <p>Financial Manager: She saves and budgets, explaining, “It [bank account] is good because you save your money in it. We didn’t know about it before, they [CBF] just taught us recently. You do business and make your savings in it.” She also explains, “I will budget for everything.”</p> <p>Primary Source(s): NGO education and exposure to other founders. She explains, “There are many things that have helped us, the savings that we didn’t know before, the business and the profit that you will save later, the loans and how to pay back the loan... We are not as we used to be... because we didn’t know about anything before, and they [CBF] have enlightened us.” She also explains, “I learnt it [business] in the town though I knew about it as well.”</p>
2	Dararo		<p>Sales Manager: Describes her role of buying and selling goods for profit: “It’s a business because it generates some profits and still I save that amount I made as profit.”</p> <p>Financial Manager: She saves and budgets to ensure continuity of stock, explaining, “When I sell tobacco and the sniffing kind of tobacco, I keep the sales differently. I save my profits and budget it well on how to spend on different items, I keep doing that.”</p> <p>Primary Source(s): NGO education. She explains, “When I got this money, I was only thinking about going to buy good clothes, shoes and animals to keep them at home... So, when we had our first meeting with the teachers they asked each and every one of us what we used the money for, I courageously explained to them what I used it for, but they tell me what about doing a business that will help you to get some little more cash? I told them I have no idea of business, but I will try.”</p>
3	Christopher		<p>Sales Manager: Describes his role of buying and selling goods for profit: “It [business] is something you start to earn a living and progress further. Let us say a shop for example, which you sell items on profit to earn a living... I want to stock more until the shop is full so as to grow bigger, that is what I am thinking about because there is no profit for now.”</p> <p>Financial Manager: He saves and budgets, explaining, “There are savings and this shop is considered for the family and the school going children and the other one is for my own things and plans. The livestock is just for other projects here at home. If I don’t have something, then I will get from the other shop and refund later... You cannot work without a plan.”</p> <p>Primary Source(s): NGO education. He explains, “He [CBF] is teaching us about savings and how to do business and the loans with interest. He says you can save even in your house and save them somewhere and do other things with them... He taught us budgeting and financing... He has taught us about planning and how you will be able to do it without anyone’s help.”</p>
4	Kureya		<p>Sales Manager: Describes her role of buying and selling goods for profit, including selling items made from natural resources: “I sell hand brooms, goats on a market day and teeth cleaning twigs. I get the monthly [savings group] contributions from these sales. I get the daily expenses from the same... That is what earns me money quickly... If you don’t have the stock to sell, you can sell for someone and get commission on every bunch of brooms you sell.”</p> <p>Financial Manager: She saves money from business, explaining, “I sell to the vehicles that pass by the town... I save at most fifty shillings.” She also saves in a bank account to invest in business: “The money is in the account and you can go take them and do business.”</p> <p>Primary Source(s): NGO education. She explains, “I learned a lot because I didn’t know about borrowing loans and repaying. We’re just selling teeth cleaning twigs. The seminar teaches about savings and investments.” She further explains, “He [CBF] tells us about accounts and he is strict that he makes sure no one doesn’t have it, he teaches us in the meetings... We didn’t know about accounts before, we just opened them.”</p>
			<p>Bank Borrower: Refers to her role of taking and repaying bank loans: “The other business that I have has helped me as well [make loan repayments]. If the loan is small and it doesn’t help, then the business will supplement, the teeth sticks and the</p>

			<p>cigarettes, to take care of the loan if the business I did with the borrowed loan doesn't manage to help pay it back."</p> <p>Primary Source(s): NGO education. She explains, "We have got the knowledge and they have even taught us about loans, and you can get up to twenty thousand and you can open a shop and buy goats and take them to Isiolo or Archers Post as you are doing the little brooms business."</p>
5	Jennifer		<p>Sales Manager: Describes her role of buying and selling goods for profit: "Since I noticed how sweet business is, how profitable it is, I am now doing it day in and out. I started with magadi [salt], I bought like 2kgs of that, then I take it to the market and sell it. I was shocked to get a profit of 110ksh, I graduated to sugar. With that I noticed how important business is."</p> <p>Financial Manager: She saves and budgets, explaining, "They [CBF] also told us that it's not good to have that cash money always because you might be tempted to use them. They advise us to buy a saving box that we keep the money inside, the profits we get we put inside that saving box." (See also below)</p> <p>Primary Source(s): NGO education (per above). She also explains, "In this group I have gained knowledge on how to run businesses, on how to save, taking loans from the group and repaying and the group contributions... How to spend the money I get from group, how to do businesses and make profits, spend some money to support the family and use the other to invest in business. It's been different, we don't spend like how our people used to."</p>
			<p>Bank Borrower: Refers to her role of taking and repaying bank loans: "I started with twenty thousand at first, twenty, and continued like that to take a bigger one [bank loan] when I finished the smaller one. I have taken twice." (Additional detail in text)</p> <p>Primary Source(s): NGO education, which included training from bank officials. She explains, "People of [Bank] came and taught us on how to take it." She learned expectations associated with the role include "a loan as it is must go to the business" and "you should have a way to pay it back." (Additional detail in text)</p>
6	Hurisha		<p>Sales Manager: Describes his role of buying and selling goods for profit: "You buy a goat and buy it at three thousand shillings, it will sell at five or even seven thousand, it is a big profit margin."</p> <p>Financial Manager: He saves and budgets to buy more stock, explaining, "I make savings for myself as well, many times. I know things, when one has made profit, he should make savings... I calculate the profit and go to Galkeena and buy more stock and the profits are set aside for the school fees."</p> <p>Primary Source(s): NGO education and education from relatives. He explains, "What made me to be a businessperson, I have been advised by my brothers to sell one bull and buy some cows because they will multiply easily compared to one bull... They taught me, before we didn't know what business is." He also explains, "My other brother that is working in the formal sector, they tell us to engage in business and make savings and not keep livestock only. The savings in the bank will earn interest just as the livestock gives birth to young ones." He has also learned from NGOs: "He [CBF] tells us to do businesses and if it gets tough to change to others so that we don't fail."</p>
7	Silapini		<p>Sales Manager: Describes the role of a businessperson as follows: "I can't define it, but I know it is selling items on profit." She further explains, "I can sell all sorts of things, I started selling foodstuffs and after some time the business wasn't going well [making profit] so I started selling clothes, beads and other things."</p> <p>Financial Manager: She saves and budgets, explaining, "I save some money. It's good to save instead of using or spending all the money and then later you don't have something to support yourself in case of any problems. So, I'm trying to budget well to ensure I spend the little I have well and save some."</p> <p>Primary Source(s): NGO education and exposure to other founders. She explains, "We used to be ignorant before, we just stayed in the village. We can now do business and you can as well handle cash because we didn't use to handle them. We have got the knowledge about the money, a concept that we didn't have before. We have managed to go to places like Karare, a place that we never thought of going, Merille as well, and we can now go to these places to do business." She also explains she learned about the role of sales manager because "Here and everywhere else people are selling things."</p>
8	Nasanten		<p>Sales Manager: Describes her role of buying and selling goods for profit: "The business I am now doing compared to that of goats, like that of sugar, tea leaf and washing powder, I compared the two businesses and made my conclusion which is preferable [profitable]. I choose the best."</p>

			<p>Financial Manager: She saves and budgets money for her business, explaining, “The children as well go to school and tell us to separate money from the business and the rest. When you get problems, you can help yourself... I make my own savings and do business so that I don’t go and borrow from others when I encounter difficulties.”</p> <p>Primary Source(s): NGO education, as well as exposure to other founders and education from school-going children (per above). She explains, “They [CBF] have taught me how to look for income and how to be self-reliant by doing business” and “The old members of the groups share with us on how to make profits in the group and also they tell us what to do so as to generate a little more cash. They tell us how important is saving and how to save too.”</p>
9	Mayani		<p>Sales Manager: Describes a businessperson as someone who “buys and sells goods” and explains, “When you take a loan from the group to start up a business and you manage it well, it earns profits and makes savings... Since I joined the group, I’m managing my small business, like selling lollipops and biscuits.”</p> <p>Financial Manager: She saves (per above) and budgets to ensure continuity of stock, explaining, “Now I’m doing my own business, whenever the stock reduces, I add the supplies.”</p> <p>Primary Source(s): NGO education. She explains, “We have learnt a lot of things, even since we went to the seminars, when we get money we come and buy sugar and some tea leaves and do business at home.” She further explains, “They train us by telling us that the amount we get from [NGO] groups we should not use it all, like we should not consume it all because it doesn’t add any value. You have to invest it and every person gives the target she wants to get as a profit at the end.”</p>
10	Ramaten		<p>Sales Manager: Describes her role of buying and selling goods for profit: “I started by selling sugar and accumulated the profits, then I bought crates of tusker [beer], I did the same to it, then I bought solar [flashlights] and detergents.”</p> <p>Financial Manager: She saves and budgets to expand her business, explaining, “I am making savings, I was buying goats to plan for the shop, while there we do tailoring, and you have your own shop to sell. While in the business you can expand it to other businesses like phone charging, you will earn more income from all those businesses.”</p> <p>Primary Source(s): NGO education and exposure to other founders. She explains, “I have put into practice what my teacher has taught me... So, I said I will try doing what the teacher is saying and see if I can progress well. We bought sugar and later rice, the tea leaves and later beers. So, I have learnt a lot and I have become a business woman... And later flashlights.” She also explains, “I [also] got that experience [business knowledge] from the friends in town who are doing business, we watched them doing business and we saw how they are doing well. At times they can even tell us how they have started with a small thing to the place he is now. That motivates us to do a business slowly and we hope to grow.”</p>
11	Sabdio		<p>Sales Manager: Describes her role of buying and selling goods for profit: “We buy items from the wholesales and that is what we depend on. We buy sugar and rice and come and sell in the house.”</p> <p>Financial Manager: She saves and budgets to ensure continuous stock, explaining, “I have now seen the importance of the business, the savings is an important thing. I like the savings idea now that I am doing business... I have went to some people who make save boxes and got one, so that I can make my own savings.” She also explains, “I sell every day, when the supplies are over, I just go to town to buy stock at the wholesales.”</p> <p>Primary Source(s): NGO education. She also explains, “They [CBF] have taught us about business” and “We have learnt new things because before we didn’t know about savings, we use to spend money without saving.”</p>
12	Seneka		<p>Sales Manager: Describes her role of buying and selling goods for profit: “I buy and re-sell goats and use the profit on food. Market day is only once a week, that is yesterday. We have butchery and hotels who buy from us if the need arises, else one has to wait for the market day. But we buy them every day.”</p> <p>Financial Manager: Saves and budgets to cover business costs and grow her business, explaining, “The cost [to transport goats] from Laisamis and Serolipi is one hundred and for four of them is four hundred shillings, the transport cost is counted. Whether they fetch profit or not, we count that cost.” She further explains, “We have known about savings now and we didn’t know about that before... The savings have enabled me to build a house [for rent] and take care of the children’s welfare, the school fees and the other things.”</p>

			<p>Primary Source(s): NGO education and exposure to other founders. She explains, “I knew how to do it [livestock trading] in the market. We have a big market for livestock selling.” She also learned about other businesses through NGO education: “I have learnt because before I just knew about goat trade and now I know about sugar, milk, and beads, while before I just sold goats alone.”</p>
13	Nosilale	 	<p>Sales Manager: Describes her role of buying and selling goods for profit: “I am doing the goats business and when the prices are not good, I don’t sell them. When there is no profit at the market, then I go to the butchereries with the goats so that I can get the best profit available.”</p> <p>Financial Manager: She saves and budgets, explaining, “I sell the goats and the food stuffs, and the profit, if it is three thousand, I will give that to the children’s food and the rest for the business.” She also now saves in a bank account, explaining, “We now have the bank accounts and every Wednesday we make the deposits.”</p> <p>Primary Source(s): NGO education and exposure to other founders. She explains, “We didn’t know about business before, we just saw people doing it. We wondered about that, one day I decided to follow them and saw it until I learnt how to do it as well, no one told me to start it.” She further explains, “They [CBF] have taught us about the business and how will be making contributions and how to loan out to someone and get them to pay with an interest, we use the profits and the accounting. The guy taught us all these things.” She also explains she started saving in a bank account as soon as she learned about them, saying, “Yes, just that day that he [CBF] taught us, I didn’t know about it before.”</p>

 Sales Manager
  Financial Manager
  Bank Borrower

IDENTITY CONFLICT

An identity conflict is “an inconsistency between the contents of two or more identities, such as a clash of values, goals, or norms” (Ashforth et al., 2008, p. 354), which can remain latent until the demands of conflicting identities are simultaneously triggered (Ashforth & Mael, 1989). Analysis of founder statements revealed that founders experience simultaneous conflicting demands associated with their extant role identities and their new role identities, which cannot be concurrently fulfilled. These identity conflicts were found to exist between founders’ extant social safety net role identities and their new sales and financial manager role identities, and between extant social safety net role identities and the new bank borrower role identity. This section discusses these identity conflicts in more detail, including illustrations from founder data, which are arrayed in Table 8.

Conflict Between Social Safety Net and Sales and Financial Manager Role Identities

Founders who experience conflict between their extant social safety net role identities and their new sales and financial manager role identities encounter simultaneous conflicting expectations. On the one hand, they are expected to help others by providing handouts, goods on credit, and money loans, while at the same time they are expected to maintain business and generate profit and savings. Founders are unable to concurrently fulfill the conflicting expectations,

thus resulting in tension. For example, Nosilale (Case #13) describes the conflict she experiences between her social safety net role of credit provider and her sales and financial manager roles, explaining:

If one grows in business, she will be asked for credit... If it is not paid in time it will affect [business], others fail to pay as well. You will need to fill that gap with other means.

Christopher (Case #3) similarly describes his struggle to fulfill expectations to help others through goods on credit, while at the same time maintain business and generate profit and savings. He explains:

People will tell you to help them on credit and you will do that until you will be equal in terms of struggles and problems... I had to close my shop two times because of bad debts.

In another example, Sabdio (Case #11) similarly describes the struggle to maintain business and generate profit and savings while fulfilling expectations associated with various social safety net roles. With respect to her role of credit provider, she explains, "Actually most businesses fail due to lack of management. People give credits to an extent they have no cash to get another stock," and with respect to her role of sharer she explains:

I give food to the family that is needy that cannot afford to buy them, for free... It can make the business collapse, I re-invest the profit I got earlier in the business.

Sabdio also describes how her role of money lender impedes her ability to maintain business and generate additional profit because the money is not available to buy more stock for her business. As she explains, "When someone takes money from me, it's obvious she will stay with it for more than a month, so the circulation is hindered [not available to generate additional profit]."

Founders may experience different types of demands from needy community members depending on the type of business they run. For example, those selling food items are more likely to receive requests for goods on credit and handouts of business items than those who only trade livestock as a business. All 13 exemplary cases recount conflict between their extant social safety net role identities and their new sales and financial manager role identities, with six cases (#1,6,7,8,11,12) specifically referring to conflict involving their social safety net role of sharer, 12

cases (#1-11,13) specifically referring to conflict involving their social safety net role of credit provider, and two cases (#9,11) specifically referring to conflict involving their social safety net role of money lender. The description of these conflicts is similar across all the exemplary cases whereby founders recount how enactment of their extant social safety net role identities impedes their ability to optimally enact their new sales and financial manager role identities. Table 8 provides additional founder data illustrating the conflict between these extant and new identities for the 13 exemplary cases. All 25 founders in the sample experience such conflict.

Conflict Between Social Safety Net and Bank Borrower Role Identities

Founders who experience conflict between their extant social safety net role identities and their new bank borrower role identity struggle with clashing expectations, whereby community members expect them to share or lend money obtained from bank loans, and NGOs and Banks expect them to use bank loans primarily for business and repay with interest according to specified deadlines. The inability to simultaneously fulfill expectations associated with both their extant social safety net role identities and their new bank borrower role identity results in tension. Kureya (Case #4), for example, describes the conflict as follows:

Some will understand [about bank loans], others won't. You will tell some that this is loan money, but they will still insist that they will repay you [if you give them some]. They will later go and never repay, and you will be forced to cover that.

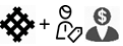
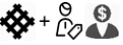
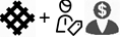
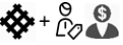

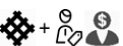

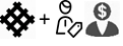
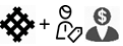
Jennifer (Case #5) similarly encounters expectations to share or lend bank loan money, which conflicts with expectations for bank loan use and repayment. She describes the guidance she has been given to manage the tension, explaining:



















They [CBF] told us that when people borrow money from you, tell them that is a [bank] loan and you don't need to give out. Even if it is your brother, or a friend, a loan doesn't want anything like that because you will need to pay it.





These two examples are the only cases within the 13 exemplary cases that adopt the role of bank borrower and experience conflict between this new role identity and extant social safety net role identities of sharer and money lender. They similarly recount how enactment of the new bank borrower role identity impedes their ability to optimally enact their extant social safety net role

identities. Table 8 provides founder data illustrating identity conflict between extant social safety net role identities and the new bank borrower role identity where it is present in the exemplary cases. In the sample of 25 founders, seven cases adopt the new bank borrower role identity and experience similar conflict.

Table 8: Identity Conflict Among Exemplary Cases

Case #	Founder	Identity Conflict	Illustrative Founder Data
1	Loltepes		Social Safety Net (Sharer/Credit Provider) & Sales and Financial Manager: Conflict between expectations for handouts and goods on credit, and objectives to maintain business and generate profit and savings. She explains, "The people will borrow from you as usual, but you will have to do your business and make your savings." She also explains, "Some will take [goods on credit] and fail to return."
2	Dararo		Social Safety Net (Credit Provider) & Sales and Financial Manager: Conflict between expectations for goods on credit and objectives to maintain business and generate profit and savings. She explains, "Business doesn't stand the giving out of items on credit... at times they get something and come and pay, but sometimes they just stay with them and your business fails."
3	Christopher		Social Safety Net (Credit Provider) & Sales and Financial Manager: Conflict between expectations for goods on credit and objectives to maintain business and generate profit and savings. He explains, "People will tell you to help them on credit and you will do that until you will be equal in terms of struggles and problems... I had to close my shop two times because of bad debts."
4	Kureya		Social Safety Net (Credit Provider) & Sales and Financial Manager: Conflict between expectations for goods on credit and objectives to maintain business and generate profit and savings. She explains, "If he [community members] doesn't have anything he can come and borrow [goods on credit]... Some won't pay you back."
			Social Safety Net (Sharer/Money Lender) & Bank Borrower: Conflict between expectations to share/lend bank loan money and expectations for business use and repayment per requirements. She explains, "Some will understand [about bank loans], others won't. You will tell some that this is loan money, but they will still insist that they will repay you [if you give them some]. They will later go and never repay, and you will be forced to cover that."
5	Jennifer		Social Safety Net (Credit Provider) & Sales and Financial Manager: Conflict between expectations for goods on credit and objectives to maintain business and generate profit and savings. She explains, "They [community members] want food and if they don't have money, they take things on credit, though debt can make the business collapse."
			Social Safety Net (Sharer/Money Lender) & Bank Borrower: Conflict between expectations to share/lend bank loan money and expectations for business use and repayment per requirements. She explains, "They [CBF] told us that when people borrow money from you, tell them that is a [bank] loan and you don't need to give out. Even if it is your brother, or a friend, a loan doesn't want anything like that because you will need to pay it."
6	Hurisha		Social Safety Net (Sharer) & Sales and Financial Manager: Conflict between expectations for handouts and objectives to maintain business and generate profit and savings. He explains, "Borrowing [giving handouts] where you give out just every time can make you fail."
			Social Safety Net (Credit Provider) & Sales and Financial Manager: Conflict between expectations for goods on credit and objectives to maintain business and generate profit and savings. He explains, "Some borrow [goods on credit] and don't pay their debts and you are forced to fill the deficit [yourself]."
7	Silapini		Social Safety Net (Sharer) & Sales and Financial Manager: Conflict between expectations to share business goods and objectives to maintain business and generate profit and savings. She explains, "I just help [by giving business goods] and swallow the credit alone." Social Safety Net (Credit Provider) & Sales and Financial Manager: Conflict between expectations for goods on credit and objectives to maintain business and generate profit and savings. She explains, "We are struggling despite the fact that our people

			are doing their best to make us fail in business, we are trying much... You will have to force them pay [goods on credit] so that it won't affect your business, it is not a joke, it will make you fail."
8	Nasanten	 +  	<p>Social Safety Net (Sharer) & Sales and Financial Manager: Conflict between expectations for handouts and objectives to maintain business and generate profit and savings. When asked if sharing goods impacts her business, she replies, "Yes it does. Let's say a very poor man came to you and you're very sure that he has nothing and the way he is talking is like he is starving. I just cross my fingers and give as I am waiting for the mercy of God."</p> <p>Social Safety Net (Credit Provider) & Sales and Financial Manager: Conflict between expectations for goods on credit and objectives to maintain business and generate profit and savings. As she later explains, "I used to give all, but now I can't deal with them. They will make the business go down... I have seen that they disturb me a lot, they have caused me to lag behind in the business."</p>
9	Mayani	 +  	<p>Social Safety Net (Credit Provider) & Sales and Financial Manager: Conflict between expectations for goods on credit and objectives to maintain business and generate profit and savings. She explains, "Our people will never stop borrowing, they borrow goods on credit" and "When you give out credit especially to our local people, they take long to pay their debts, by the time they pay you, maybe business has failed and it's hard to recover."</p> <p>Social Safety Net (Money Lender) & Sales and Financial Manager: Conflict between expectations for money loans and objectives to maintain business and generate profit and savings. Illustrated in her statement of caution when she says, "They ask for money, they come and ask for money so that maybe they can buy things. But also, I have to be very careful to who I give credit to and who I don't [so business does not fail]."</p>
10	Ramaten	 +  	<p>Social Safety Net (Credit Provider) & Sales and Financial Manager: Conflict between expectations for goods on credit and objectives to maintain business and generate profit and savings. She explains, "They [community members] require items on credit, the sugar and beans. This is a place of problems; the drought is harsh, and people are facing hunger and require food on credit... It can bring the business down."</p>
11	Sabdio	 +  	<p>Social Safety Net (Sharer) & Sales and Financial Manager: Conflict between expectations for handouts and objectives to maintain business and generate profit and savings. She explains, "I give food to the family that is needy that cannot afford to buy them, for free... It can make the business collapse, I re-invest the profit I got earlier in the business."</p> <p>Social Safety Net (Credit Provider) & Sales and Financial Manager: Conflict between expectations for goods on credit and objectives to maintain business and generate profit and savings. She explains, "Actually most businesses fail due to lack of management. People give credits to an extent they have no cash to get another stock."</p> <p>Social Safety Net (Money Lender) & Sales and Financial Manager: Conflict between expectations for money loans and objectives to maintain business and generate profit and savings. She explains, "When someone takes money from me, it's obvious she will stay with it for more than a month, so the circulation is hindered [not available to generate additional profit]."</p>
12	Seneka	 +  	<p>Social Safety Net (Sharer) & Sales and Financial Manager: Conflict between expectations for handouts and objectives to maintain business and generate profit and savings. She explains, "We used to give them [money], but nowadays we have seen that it will fail the business." She further explains, "I am seeing that person that wants monetary assistance to be a joker because that will make you fail."</p>
13	Nosilale	 +  	<p>Social Safety Net (Credit Provider) & Sales and Financial Manager: Conflict between expectations for goods on credit and objectives to maintain business and generate profit and savings. She explains, "If one grows in business, she will be asked for credit... If it is not paid in time it will affect [business], others fail to pay as well. You will need to fill that gap with other means."</p>

 Social Safety Net
  Sales Manager
  Financial Manager
  Bank Borrower

RESPONSES

Responses refer to how individuals manage identity conflict. Analysis of founder statements and field observations revealed five dominant responses to the aforementioned conflict between founders' extant and new role identities, which are 'ranking (extant > new)', 'ranking (new > extant)', 'reframing', 'decoupling' and 'removing'. This section details each response, including illustrations from founder data, which are arrayed in Table 9.

Response: Ranking (extant > new)

Founders who respond to identity conflict by ranking identities order their identities in terms of importance and defer to those which are most important. Where founders experience conflict between their extant social safety net role identities and their new sales and financial manager role identities, some respond by ranking their extant identities as more important than their new identities. In other words, they prioritize fulfilling expectations for goods on credit, handouts of business goods, and/or money loans over objectives to maintain business and generate profit and savings. For example, Loltepes (Case #1) shares business goods with needy community members and readily provides goods on credit, accepting that some people will never pay their debts. As she explains:

Some will take [goods on credit] and fail to return and others will pay, that is how our place is. If there is a poor person, you will give something. You feel for such people and give... We will share what we have between the two of us.

She therefore ranks her extant social safety net roles of sharer and credit provider as more important than her new sales and financial manager roles. As previously described, Christopher (Case #3) also prioritizes his extant role of credit provider, even if it means his business repeatedly fails. He explains:

People will tell you to help them on credit and you will do that until you will be equal in terms of struggles and problems... I had to close my shop two times because of bad debts.

He also prioritizes his extant role of sharer, explaining:

There are situations where you just look at some individuals and see that they really need help. There is a lady who came to me and said that she hasn't had any food and she had a child. So, I had to give her some rice at night from the shop [for free].

In another example, Jennifer (Case #5) similarly prioritizes demands for goods on credit and handouts of business goods, even if it means she must cover them herself to maintain her business, thus impacting her profit and savings. As she explains:

They borrow just as they used to before, some relatives come from far and it is just like that as it used to be... You will balance, you can keep records and pay the money that you have used to the business so as to cover what you gave out... Some come to borrow maize flour, even if it is a half a kilo, and I pay that.

Seven of the 13 exemplary cases (#1-7) similarly respond to conflict between their extant social safety net role identities and their new sales and financial manager role identities by ranking extant identities as more important than new identities. Five of the seven cases (#1-5) specifically refer to prioritization of their extant social safety net role of credit provider, and six (#1,3-7) specifically refer to prioritization of their extant social safety net role of sharer. All seven exemplary cases similarly describe the response of 'ranking (extant > new)' as prioritization of demands from others for assistance (i.e. handouts of business goods, goods on credit, money loans) over business continuity, profit, and savings. Table 9 provides additional founder data illustrating the response of ranking (extant > new) for the seven exemplary cases who applied this response. In the sample of 25 founders, eight cases apply the response of ranking (extant > new) to the identity conflict.

Response: Ranking (new > extant)

As previously described, founders who respond to identity conflict by ranking identities, order their identities in terms of importance and defer to those which are most important. Where founders experience conflict between their extant social safety net role identities and their new sales and financial manager and/or bank borrower role identities, some respond by ranking their new identities as more important than their extant identities. In other words, when they experience conflict between their social safety net role identities and their sales and financial manager role identities, they prioritize business continuity, profit, and savings objectives over fulfilling expectations to help others through handouts of business goods, goods on credit, and/or money

loans. Also, when they experience conflict between their social safety net role identities and their bank borrower role identity, they prioritize NGO and bank expectations to use bank loan money for business and meet repayment requirements over expectations from community members to share or lend bank loan money. Nasanten (Case #8) for example, prioritizes her new sales and financial manager identities over her extant credit provider identity. This is demonstrated when she continues to provide goods on credit but does so selectively in order to ensure business continuity and generate profit and savings. As she explains:

People will come and borrow things on credit, but you don't give to all the people, only those who will repay you... I give to those people who have salaries because they will pay me... I will be able to buy new stock that way.

Sabdio (Case #11) responds in a similar way. She also continues to provide goods on credit but does so selectively and with strict rules to ensure business continuity, profit, and savings. She explains:

I don't give credits because I am struggling alone at home, I must know where to look for money so as to maintain my family. And if I give credits, I must give the strict rules that if you take this good, make sure after two days you have paid for it.

She further explains:

What I came to know about business is to be determined. When you're focused and doing your business you will make a lot of money, unlike when you're giving credits.

Sabdio also prioritizes her new sales and financial manager roles over her extant role of sharer. While she continues to provide some handouts of business goods, she only does so if it will not impact business continuity, profit, and savings. She explains, "It is not a must to give out; even if my relative comes, I will try to balance that with the profit that I will get so that the business will not fail." In another example, Kureya (Case #4) experiences conflict between her extant social safety net roles of sharer and money lender and her new bank borrower identity. She responds by prioritizing her new bank borrower identity, resulting in rejection of community member demands to share or lend bank loan money. As she explains:

The business doesn't allow that issue of giving out [bank loan money] for free because it will make you fail, it is better to say no at times. The loan that you have taken is needed back and I won't be able to give out something like that.

Six of the 13 exemplary cases (#4,5,6,8,11,13) respond to conflict between their extant social safety net role identities and their new sales and financial manager role identities by ranking new identities as more important than extant identities. Four of the six cases (#6,8,11,13) specifically refer to prioritization of their new sales and financial manager identities, which they similarly describe as prioritization of business continuity, profit, and savings over fulfilling demands from community members for help through goods on credit and/or handouts of business goods. Two of the six cases (#4,5) specifically refer to prioritization of their new bank borrower identity, which they similarly describe as prioritization of NGO and bank expectations regarding loan use and repayment over expectations from community members to share or lend bank loan money. Table 9 provides additional founder data illustrating the response of ranking (new > extant) for the exemplary cases that use this response. In the sample of 25 founders, 12 cases apply the response of ranking (new > extant) to the identity conflict.

Response: Reframing

Founders who respond to conflict between extant and new role identities by ‘reframing’ resolve the conflict by redefining extant role identities in a way that aligns with their new identities. In other words, when founders experience conflict between their extant social safety net role identities and their new sales and financial manager role identities, some founders retain their social safety net roles but adapt the meanings of the roles to align with objectives to maintain business and generate profit and savings. For example, Hurisha (Case #6) continues to loan money to needy community members, but he changes what it means to be a money lender from solely emphasizing helping others to also seeing it as a profit opportunity. He now charges interest on money loans to generate additional profit, explaining, “If someone wants a thousand shillings and when the market day comes [and they sell livestock] they pay with an interest... Interest is a good thing, it is a good profit.” Silapini (Case #7) similarly reframes her extant social safety net role of money lender into a profit opportunity to align with her new sales and financial manager role identities. Like Hurisha, she continues to lend money to help needy community members, but charges interest in order to generate additional profit. She explains:

Like for example if someone is taking her daughter or son to school, she will come and borrow from me the money and ask for help. I assist because it's a community child that needs help. I help her, but when her parents get money they come and pay with interest... It is a must to do so... You can accumulate that amount and increase your stock.

In addition to reframing her extant social safety net role of money lender, Silapini also reframes her extant social safety net role of credit provider to align with her new sales and financial manager role identities. Whereas she used to see goods on credit as a way to help other community members, she now sees it as an opportunity cost where she is unable to generate more profit while she waits for payment. She therefore charges interest to cover the lost income. As she explains:

They pay back [goods on credit] with some interest on top of it because they have been informed.... They have to. If you exceed a certain month the interest increases more than it was... You will make them pay with an interest for late repayment. That will not make my business to fail.

Five of the 13 exemplary cases (#5,6,7,9,11) similarly respond to conflict between their extant social safety net role identities and their new sales and financial manager role identities by reframing their extant role identities to align with their new role identities. All these cases reframe their extant social safety net role of money lender and two of them (#7,9) also reframe their extant social safety net role of credit provider. All five of these exemplary cases similarly describe the response of reframing as adapting the meaning of extant social safety net roles to align with their new sales and financial manager roles, resulting in charging interest on money loans and/or goods on credit. Table 9 provides additional founder data illustrating the response of reframing for these five exemplary cases. In the sample of 25 founders, 12 cases respond to the identity conflict by reframing one or more of their extant role identities.

Response: Decoupling

Founders who respond to identity conflict by 'decoupling' separate extant role identities from their founder identity but continue to hold them as part of a separate non-founder identity. In other words, when founders experience conflict between their extant social safety net role identities and their new sales and financial manager role identities, some founders dissociate extant social safety net roles from who they are as a founder but retain them in a non-founder capacity. This

response differs from reframing whereby a founder retains extant social safety net roles as part of their founder identity but adapts the meanings to align with new sales and financial manager role identities.

Nasanten (Case #8) for example, initially holds her extant social safety net role of sharer as part of her identity as a founder. When she first starts business, she perceives it as a way to help others, explaining, “I am very happy today that people can borrow from me, they know I have something to give.” As a new founder, she provides handouts of business goods to needy community members regardless of the impact on her business, explaining, “I just cross my fingers and give as am waiting for the mercy of God.” However, over time, expectations to maintain business and generate profit and savings intensify through business education, exposure, and experience, and she witnesses varied responses of other founders. Nasanten responds by decoupling her extant role of sharer from her identity as a founder. While she continues to provide handouts to needy community members, she only shares personal goods and no longer shares business goods. As she explains:

Someone who will come and plead with me for long that the children are hungry, I will give a mother who comes and pleads with me. I give them food but not from the business... I don't give from the business, just from the food I have.

Seneka (Case #12) similarly decouples her social safety net role of sharer from her identity as a founder but continues to retain it as part of a separate non-founder identity. This is illustrated when she stops sharing money with needy community members because of tension between expectations for handouts and maintaining her business. However, while she stops sharing from her business, she continues to help needy community members from her personal resources. As she explains:

We used to give them [money], but nowadays we have seen that it will fail the business. We no longer give them unless it is food that my children have. The budget from the household, but not the one from the business.

Other founders similarly decouple their social safety net role of sharer from their founder identity, such as Nosilale (Case #13), who explains, “I just share the food meant for the children... That is different from the one in the business.”

Four of the 13 exemplary cases (#8,10,12,13) similarly respond to conflict between their extant social safety net role identities and their new sales and financial manager role identities by decoupling social safety net roles from their identity as a founder, specifically their role of sharer. They all similarly describe how they restrict sharing to personal items only and stop sharing from their businesses. Table 9 provides additional founder data illustrating the response of decoupling for these four exemplary cases. In the sample of 25 founders, 12 cases respond to the identity conflict with the response of decoupling.

Response: Removing

Founders who respond to identity conflict by 'removing' kill off extant role identities to emphasize their new role identities. In other words, when founders experience conflict between their extant social safety net roles and their new sales and financial manager roles, some respond by eliminating extant social safety net roles from their self-concept. This response differs from decoupling, in which a founder continues to retain the social safety net role(s) as part of a non-founder identity. Ramaten (Case #10) for example, responds to conflict between her extant social safety net role of credit provider and her sales and financial manager role identities by killing off her role of credit provider. She explains:

Before I used to help, I gave them credit, but after a while I stopped... They do come and beg for help, but too unfortunate, these things I have are for sale, I don't give them credit because I know they won't pay.

Mayani (Case #9) similarly responds to the identity conflict by killing of an extant social safety net role, in her case the role of sharer. She rejects requests to share any goods with needy community members, only offering assistance in the form of goods on credit. As she explains, "I can give to those that need credit, but I put the records. But for those that just come and borrow for free, I tell them that this is a business."

These are the only two cases within the 13 exemplary cases and the sample of 25 founders who use the response of removing. Both these cases similarly describe the response of removing as killing off extant social safety net roles in order to emphasize new sales and financial manager roles.

Table 9 includes the founder data illustrating the response of removing for these two exemplary cases.

Table 9: Responses to Identity Conflict Among Exemplary Cases

Case #	Founder	Responses	Illustrative Founder Data
1	Loltepes	Ranking (extant > new)	Social Safety Net (Credit Provider & Sharer) > Sales and Financial Manager: Prioritizes demands for goods on credit and handouts of business goods over business continuity, profit and savings. She explains, "Some will take [goods on credit] and fail to return and others will pay, that is how our place is. If there is a poor person, you will give something. You feel for such people and give... We will share what we have between the two of us."
2	Dararo	Ranking (extant > new)	Social Safety Net (Credit Provider) > Sales and Financial Manager: Readily provides goods on credit even though she knows payment is likely to be delayed or avoided. She explains, "They pay, at times they get something and come and pay, but sometimes they just stay with them and your business fails... They go with it at the satellite camps and stay for long... It affects business."
3	Christopher	Ranking (extant > new)	Social Safety Net (Credit Provider) > Sales and Financial Manager: Prioritizes demands for goods on credit over business continuity, profit and savings. He explains, "People will tell you to help them on credit and you will do that until you will be equal in terms of struggles and problems... I had to close my shop two times because of bad debts." Social Safety Net (Sharer) > Sales and Financial Manager: Prioritizes demands for handouts of business goods over business continuity, profit and savings. He explains, "There are situations where you just look at some individuals and see that they really need help. There is a lady who came to me and said that she hasn't had any food and she had a child. So, I had to give her some rice at night from the shop [for free]."
4	Kureya	Ranking (extant > new)	Social Safety Net (Credit Provider) > Sales and Financial Manager: Readily provides goods on credit without limits or restrictions, even though she says, "Some won't pay you back." Social Safety Net (Sharer) > Sales and Financial Manager: Readily provides handouts of business goods to help those without money, explaining, "I give them [teeth cleaning sticks] for free even up to hundred shillings."
		Ranking (new > extant)	Bank Borrower > Social Safety Net (Sharer/Money Lender): Prioritizes NGO/Bank expectations for loan use and repayment over demands to share/lend bank loan money. She explains, "The business doesn't allow that issue of giving out [bank loan money] for free because it will make you fail, it is better to say no at times. The loan that you have taken is needed back and I won't be able to give out something like that."
5	Jennifer	Ranking (extant > new)	Social Safety Net (Credit Provider & Sharer) > Sales and Financial Manager: Fulfills demands for goods on credit and handouts and covers them personally: "They borrow just as they used to before, some relatives come from far and it is just like that as it used to be... You will balance, you can keep records and pay the money that you have used to the business so as to cover what you gave out... Some come to borrow maize flour, even if it is a half a kilo, and I pay that."
		Ranking (new > extant)	Bank Borrower > Social Safety Net (Sharer/Money Lender): Prioritizes NGO/Bank expectations for loan use and repayment over demands to share/lend bank loan money. She explains, "They told us that when people borrow money from you tell them that is a loan and you don't need to give out. Even if it is your brother, or a friend, a loan doesn't want anything like that because you will need to pay it."
		Reframing	Money Lender = Profit Opportunity: Continues to help others by loaning her own money (not bank loan money), but now sees it as a profit opportunity and charges interest to generate profit. She explains, "They take [money] on credit... some of your relatives come and borrow for free and others on credit and they will pay later. When they take on credit you will charge some interest."
6	Hurisha	Ranking (extant > new)	Social Safety Net (Sharer) > Sales and Financial Manager: Prioritizes demands for handouts of business goods over business continuity, profit and savings. He explains, "There is a poor member of the community and you can't tell her to just go away without giving her something like a hundred shillings so that she

			can feed her children... If it is a poor person that doesn't have anything, you can give food for the family."
		Ranking (new > extant)	Sales and Financial Manager > Social Safety Net (Credit Provider): Prioritizes business continuity, profit and savings over demands for goods on credit. He limits the provision of goods on credit, explaining, "You don't give out [goods on credit] every time. You work hard and not give out every single day. You can tell them that you have kids to take care of as well."
		Reframing	Money Lender = Profit Opportunity: Shares money with very needy community members (per above), but for those who ask to borrow money, he still helps them but now sees it as a profit opportunity and charges interest to generate profit. He explains, "If someone wants a thousand shillings and when the market day comes [and they sell livestock] they pay with an interest.. Interest is a good thing, it is a good profit."
7	Silapini	Ranking (extant > new)	Social Safety Net (Sharer) > Sales and Financial Manager: She describes how she must fulfill requests for handouts from needy community members, explaining, "It's hard because I am afraid of her and maybe her children has nothing like food, and its bad also to chase someone who is needy and you're in a position to help. I just help and swallow the credit alone."
		Reframing	Money Lender = Profit Opportunity: Continues to loan money to help others, but now sees it as a profit opportunity and charges interest to generate profit. She explains, "Like for example if someone is taking her daughter or son to school, she will come and borrow from me the money and ask for help. I assist because it's a community child that needs help. I help her, but when her parents get money they come and pay with interest... It is a must to do so... You can accumulate that amount and increase your stock." Credit Provider = Opportunity Cost: Continues to provide goods on credit to help those without available cash, but now sees it as an opportunity cost and charges interest to account for lost income due to delayed payment. She explains, "They pay back [goods on credit] with some interest on top of it because they have been informed.... They have to. If you exceed a certain month the interest increases more than it was... You will make them pay with an interest for late repayment. That will not make my business to fail."
8	Nasanten	Ranking (new > extant)	Sales and Financial Manager > Social Safety Net (Credit Provider): Prioritizes business continuity, profit and savings over demands for goods on credit. She selectively provides goods on credit, explaining, "People will come and borrow things on credit, but you don't give to all the people, only those who will repay you... I give to those people who have salaries because they will pay me... I will be able to buy new stock that way."
		Decoupling	Social Safety Net (Sharer): Decouples her social safety net role of sharer from her founder identity. While she continues to provide handouts, she only shares personal goods, not business goods, explaining, "Someone who will come and plead with me for long that the children are hungry, I will give a mother who comes and pleads with me. I give them food but not from the business... I don't give from the business, just from the food I have."
9	Mayani	Reframing	Money Lender = Profit Opportunity: Continues to loan money to help others but now sees it as a profit opportunity and she charges interest to generate profit. She confirms she charges interest on money loans and that it increases the longer borrowers take to repay, saying, "I let them know that if you take this long, I have to charge you this amount [increasing interest]." Credit Provider = Opportunity Cost: Continues to provide goods on credit to help those without available cash, but now sees it as an opportunity cost and charges interest to account for lost income due to delayed payment. She explains, "It might happen that when you just stick to your rule [charging interest on goods on credit] they will go to those people that they don't charge interest and they buy the stock and maybe they finish, then they will come to you because there is no stock there."
		Removing	Social Safety Net (Sharer): Kills off her social safety net role of sharer. She refuses to provide handouts of any goods and only assists with goods on credit. She explains, "I can give to those that need credit, but I put the records. But for those that just come and borrow for free, I tell them that this is a business."
10	Ramaten	Decoupling	Social Safety Net (Sharer): Decouples her social safety net role of sharer from her founder identity. While she continues to provide handouts, she only shares personal goods, not business goods. When asked if she provides handouts of

			business goods to needy community members, she replies, “Yes [I share sugar]... I used to buy from my own business, that’s just my sugar [being shared].”
		Removing	Social Safety Net (Sharer): She initially provides goods on credit to needy community members, but subsequently kills off her role of credit provider, explaining, “Before I used to help, I gave them credit, but after a while I stopped... They do come and beg for help, but too unfortunate, these things I have are for sale, I don’t give them credit because I know they won’t pay.”
11	Sabdio	Ranking (new > extant)	Sales and Financial Manager > Social Safety Net (Credit Provider): Prioritizes business continuity, profit and savings over demands for goods on credit. She selectively provides goods on credit with strict repayment rules, explaining, “I don’t give credits because I am struggling alone at home, I must know where to look for money so as to maintain my family. And if I give credits, I must give the strict rules that if you take this good, make sure after two days you have paid for it.” (Additional examples in text) Sales and Financial Manager > Social Safety Net (Sharer): Only shares goods if it will not impact her business, explaining, “It is not a must to give out; even if my relative comes, I will try to balance that with the profit that I will get so that the business will not fail.”
		Reframing	Money Lender = Profit Opportunity: While she still helps others by loaning money, she now sees it as a profit opportunity and charges interest to generate profit. She explains, “That’s compulsory to charge [interest on money loans].”
12	Seneka	Decoupling	Social Safety Net (Sharer): Decouples her social safety net role of sharer from her founder identity. While she continues to provide handouts, she only shares from her personal resources, not her business. She explains, “We used to give them [money], but nowadays we have seen that it will fail the business. We no longer give them unless it is food that my children have. The budget from the household, but not the one from the business.”
13	Nosilale	Ranking (new > extant)	Sales and Financial Manager > Social Safety Net (Credit Provider): Prioritizes business continuity, profit and savings over demands for goods on credit. She selectively provides goods on credit, explaining, “You will only avoid the debt defaulters [refuse to give them goods on credit].”
		Decoupling	Social Safety Net (Sharer): Decouples her social safety net role of sharer from her founder identity. While she continues to provide handouts, she only shares personal goods, not business goods, explaining, “I just share the food meant for the children... That is different from the one in the business.”

PATHWAYS AND OUTCOME IDENTITIES

Analysis of founder statements and responses to conflict between extant and new identities revealed that founders follow distinct pathways leading to the emergence and adoption of different founder identities. Founders either maintain emphasis on extant identities, balance emphasis between some extant identities and some new identities, or transform to emphasize new identities. Founders who follow the ‘maintaining’ pathway become ‘collectivist’ founders whose identity as a founder emphasizes the extant collectivist social identity and prioritizes extant social safety net role identities. Founders who follow the ‘balancing’ pathway become ‘hybrid’ founders whose identity as a founder includes characteristics of both the extant collectivist social identity and an individualist social identity, and emphasizes some extant social safety net role identities and some new business role identities. Alternatively, founders who follow the ‘transforming’ pathway become ‘individualist’ founders whose identity as a founder emphasizes an individualist social identity and new business

role identities. The emergent founder identities, referred to as ‘outcome identities’, are therefore comprised of constellations of both social and role identities that are salient for founders in their work. This section details the three pathways of maintaining, balancing, and transforming, as well as the respective associated outcome identities of collectivist, hybrid, and individualist founder.

Maintaining: The Pathway to becoming a Collectivist Founder

Founders who follow the maintaining pathway retain emphasis on their extant identities and become collectivist founders. These founders respond to conflict between their extant social safety net role identities and their new business role identities with only one response type: they rank their extant role identities as more important than their new role identities. For example, as described in the previous section (Responses) and illustrated in Table 9, Loltepes (Case #1) continues to provide goods on credit and handouts of business goods to needy community members even if it impacts her business, explaining, “You feel for such people [poor community members] and give.” When she is asked about those who value business over helping others, she replies: “That alone [business] is not very important... In our culture we help each other. You will help those who are less fortunate while doing business.” She therefore prioritizes her extant social safety net role identities over her new business role identities, as well as continues to emphasize her extant collectivist social identity as an important part of who she is as a founder. She thereby becomes a collectivist founder who embodies values of mutual aid and generosity and runs her business in a way that prioritizes helping others over business continuity, profit, and savings.

Christopher (Case #3) similarly responds to conflict between his extant and new identities with a sole response of ranking his extant identities as more important than his new identities. As described in the previous section (Responses) and illustrated in Table 9, he prioritizes expectations from needy community members for handouts and goods on credit, even if it means his business repeatedly fails. For example, he explains, “I had to close my shop two times because of bad debts.” He continues to help others because his extant collectivist social identity is an important part of who he is as a founder. He explains, “The community needs you” and describes himself as someone who “doesn’t know how to say no to some people,” which the local translator clarifies as: “He has that

heart to give out, so when people ask him, he gives.” Therefore, like Loltepes, Christopher becomes a collectivist founder whose identity as a founder emphasizes his extant collectivist social identity and social safety net role identities and who thereby runs his business in a way that prioritizes helping others over business continuity, profit, and savings.

As illustrated in Table 5, three of the 13 exemplary cases (#1-3) are collectivist founders. They similarly prioritize their extant social safety net role identities over their new business role identities and emphasize their extant collectivist social identity as an important part of who they are as a founder. All three of these founders run their business in a way that prioritizes helping other community members regardless of the impact on their business. While these three exemplary cases are the only collectivist founders within the sample of 25 founders, there are indications that most of the founders in the sample initially followed the maintaining pathway and became collectivist founders. However, some founders subsequently shift pathways and therefore who they are as a founder, which is discussed further in subsequent sections.

Balancing: The Pathway to Becoming a Hybrid Founder

Founders who follow the balancing pathway maintain emphasis on some characteristics of their extant identities while also emphasizing some characteristics of new identities, thus becoming hybrid founders. These founders respond to conflict between their extant social safety net role identities and their new business role identities with a combination of responses, whereby some extant role identities are prioritized, while others are deprioritized and/or reframed to emphasize new business role identities. For example, as illustrated in Table 9, Hurisha (Case #6) applies a combination of responses to the identity conflict, which vary based on different social safety net roles. For example, he continues to prioritize his extant social safety net role of sharer over his new sales and financial manager identities (ranking (extant > new)), explaining:

There is a poor member of the community and you can't tell her to just go away without giving her something like a hundred shillings so that she can feed her children... If it is a poor person that doesn't have anything, you can give food for the family.

However, he de-prioritizes his extant social safety net role of credit provider relative to his new identities (ranking (new > extant)). While he continues to provide goods on credit, he limits how often he gives credit in order to maintain his business and generate profit and savings. As he explains, “You don’t give out [goods on credit] every time. You work hard and not give out every single day. You can tell them that you have kids to take care of as well.” In addition, as described in the previous section (Responses), he reframes his extant social safety net role of money lender into a profit opportunity to align with his new sales and financial manager identities (reframing). This is illustrated by his new practice of charging interest on money loaned to needy community members to generate additional profit. As he explains, “Interest [on money loans] is a good thing, it is a good profit.”

Hurisha therefore applies a constellation of three different responses to conflict between extant social safety net role identities and new business role identities, which vary depending on the specific social safety net role in question: some are ranked higher than new business role identities and some lower, while others are reframed. He continues to embody characteristics of his extant collectivist social identity as part of his founder identity; demonstrating values of mutual aid and generosity with respect to provision of handouts of business money or goods to help needy community members. However, he also embodies characteristics of an individualist social identity as a founder; demonstrating greater emphasis on the ‘self’ with respect to credit provision and money lending. He therefore becomes a hybrid founder who runs his business in a way whereby he tries to juggle helping needy community members and maintaining business and generating profit and savings. As he explains, “For a clever person he will know how to balance the business [with helping others] and not to make it fail.” However, he does not necessarily optimize either helping others or maintaining business and generating profit and savings.

Jennifer (Case #5) also follows the balancing pathway to become a hybrid founder. Her identity as a founder includes a constellation of social and role identities where emphasis is mixed between some extant identities and some new identities. Like Hurisha, she responds to conflict between her extant social safety net role identities and her new business role identities with a

combination of responses, which vary depending on different social safety net roles and business roles. As described in the previous section (Responses) and illustrated in Table 9, she prioritizes helping needy community members through goods on credit and handouts of business goods, even if it means covering them herself, thus impacting her profit and savings, and possibly the continuity of her business (ranking (extant > new)). As she explains, “Some come to borrow maize flour, even if it is half a kilo, and I pay that.” However, when she adopts the role of bank borrower, she refuses to share or lend bank loan money to needy community members, instead prioritizing NGO and bank expectations for loan use and repayment (ranking (new > extant)). As she explains, “They told us that when people borrow money from you, tell them that is a loan and you don’t need to give out... You will need to [re]pay it.” While she does not share or lend bank loan money, she does lend her own money to needy community members, but she reframes her extant social safety net role of money lender into a profit opportunity to align with her new sales and financial manager role identities (reframing). This is illustrated by her new practice of charging interest on money loans to generate additional profit. As she explains, “When they take [money] on credit, you will charge some interest.”

Jennifer therefore responds to conflict between her extant social safety net role identities and new business role identities with three responses of ranking (extant > new), ranking (new > extant), and reframing, which vary depending on the social safety net role and business role. Like Hurisha, she continues to embody characteristics of her extant collectivist social identity as part of her founder identity; demonstrating values of mutual aid and generosity with respect to provision of goods on credit and handouts of business goods to help needy community members. However, she also embodies characteristics of an individualist social identity as a founder; demonstrating greater emphasis on the ‘self’ with respect to bank loans and money lending. She therefore becomes a hybrid founder who runs her business in a way whereby she tries to juggle helping needy community members and maintaining business and generating profit and savings, without optimizing either.

As illustrated in Table 5, four of the 13 exemplary cases (#4-7) follow the balancing pathway and become hybrid founders. These founders similarly respond to conflict between extant social safety net role identities and new business role identities by prioritizing some of their extant role

identities, while at the same time de-prioritizing or reframing others to emphasize new role identities. They also balance identification with both their extant communitarian social identity and an individualist social identity as part of who they are as a founder. These hybrid founders sit along a continuum between 'pure' collectivist founders and 'pure' individualist founders, based on the degree to which they emphasize extant identities versus new identities. However, they all similarly run their business in a way whereby they try to juggle helping needy community members and maintaining business and generating profit and savings, without optimizing either. In the sample of 25 founders, there are five hybrid founders, however, there are indications that some founders previously held a hybrid identity prior to following the transforming pathway and becoming individualist founders.

Transforming: The Pathway to Becoming an Individualist Founder

Founders who follow the transforming pathway shift emphasis to their new identities and become individualist founders. These founders respond to conflict between their extant social safety net role identities and new business role identities with a combination of responses, all of which emphasize new business role identities in varied ways. This includes prioritizing new role identities (ranking (new > extant)), changing the meaning of extant role identities to align with new role identities (reframing), separating extant role identities from one's founder identity but retaining them as part of a non-founder identity (decoupling), and killing off an extant role identity entirely (removing). They do not respond by prioritizing any of their extant social safety net role identities over their new business role identities (ranking (extant > new)).

For example, as illustrated in Table 9, Mayani (Case #9) applies a combination of responses to the conflict between her extant social safety net role identities and her new business role identities, which vary based on different social safety net roles. She retains her social safety net roles of money lender and credit provider, but she changes the meanings associated with these roles to align with her new sales and financial manager role identities (reframing). While she continues to loan money to needy community members, she changes what it means to be a money lender from solely emphasizing helping others to seeing it as a profit opportunity. She describes how she charges

increasing interest the longer it takes to repay, saying, “I let them know that if you take this long [to repay], I have to charge you this amount [increasing interest].” She also continues to provide goods on credit to help needy community members, however, she now sees it as an opportunity cost where she is unable to generate more profit while she waits for payment and therefore charges additional interest. In addition, as described in the previous section (Responses), she kills off her role of sharer to emphasize her new business role identities (removing). She rejects all requests for handouts, offering assistance only in the form of goods on credit. As she explains, “I can give to those that need credit, but I put the records. But for those that just come and borrow for free, I tell them that this is a business.”

Mayani therefore responds to conflict between extant social safety net role identities and new business role identities by applying two responses of reframing and removing, both of which emphasize new business role identities. While she does assist community members as a founder by providing goods on credit and money loans, emphasis is placed on the ‘self’ in terms of maintaining her business and generating profit and savings. She therefore embodies an individualist social identity with respect to who she is as a founder and runs her business in a way that prioritizes business maintenance and growth over helping others. As she describes, “Business is all over, they [businesspeople] no longer help each other... The society has changed; people no longer help each other.”

Nasanten (Case #8) also follows the transforming pathway to become an individualist founder whereby her identity as a founder includes a constellation of social and role identities, which emphasize an individualist social identity and new business role identities. As described in the previous section (Responses) and illustrated in Table 9, Nasanten responds to identity conflict between her extant and new identities with a combination of two responses, both of which emphasize her new role identities. While she continues to provide goods on credit, she restricts this form of assistance to community members who earn a salary to ensure she maintains her business and generates profit and savings, explaining, “I give to those people who have salaries because they will pay me.” She therefore prioritizes her new sales and financial manager roles over her extant

social safety net role of credit provider (ranking (new > extant)). She also continues to provide handouts of goods to needy community members, but she only shares personal items, not goods from her business, explaining, “I will give a mother who comes and pleads with me. I give them food but not from the business.” She therefore separates her social safety net role of sharer from her identity as a founder but retains the role as part of a non-founder identity (decoupling).

Nasanten therefore responds to conflict between extant and new identities by applying two responses of ranking (new > extant) and decoupling, both of which emphasize her new business role identities. Like Mayani and unlike the hybrid founders, she does not prioritize any of her extant social safety net role identities over her new business role identities (ranking (extant > new)). Thus, while she continues to assist community members as a founder by providing goods on credit, emphasis is placed on the ‘self’ in terms of maintaining her business and generating profit and savings. She therefore embodies an individualist social identity with respect to who she is as a founder and runs her business in a way that prioritizes business maintenance and growth over helping others.

As illustrated in Table 5, six of the 13 exemplary cases (#8-13) follow the transforming pathway and become individualist founders. While these founders may respond to conflict between their extant and new identities with varied responses, all their responses emphasize new business role identities in some way. They also similarly emphasize the ‘self’, and therefore an individualist social identity, with respect to who they are as a founder. These founders therefore run their business in a way that prioritizes business maintenance and growth over helping other community members. In the sample of 25 founders, 17 follow the transforming pathway and become individualist founders. As previously described, there are indications that most of these founders initially followed the maintaining pathway and became collectivist founders, and then over time shifted to the transforming pathway to become individualist founders. Some of these founders may have also followed the balancing pathway to become hybrid founders prior to becoming individualist founders. Thus, these pathways and outcome founder identities do not necessarily emerge concurrently, but more likely over time through ongoing business education, exposure, and experience, and through a process of ‘trying on’ new responses to identity conflict and managing

resistance to new behaviors and expectations. Management of resistance to changing founder identities is discussed in the following section.

EXTERNAL IDENTITY WORK

Founders who engage in external identity work utilize various forms of talk and action to influence how others see them (Watson, 2008). Analysis of founder statements revealed that founders who follow the balancing or transforming pathway do not do so smoothly; they experience resistance to new behaviors and expectations that do not align with extant deep-rooted values, norms, and expectations. These founders therefore must work to change how others perceive them as a founder, from being seen as someone who has more and is therefore expected to help others more, to being seen and accepted, either partially or wholly, as someone who is focused on maintaining business and generating profit and savings. This includes increasing understanding and acceptance of new behaviors and expectations of others. Founders were found to use three mechanisms in their external identity work, which are ‘explanation’, ‘enforcement’ and ‘leveraging authority figures’. This section details these three mechanisms, including illustrations from founder data, which are arrayed in Table 10.

Explanation as a Mechanism for External Identity Work

Founders who use explanation as a mechanism for external identity work educate other community members about new behaviors and expectations to increase understanding and acceptance, and ultimately change perceptions of who they are as a founder. For example, Ramaten (Case #10) describes how she initially experienced resistance to payment for goods she previously shared with others and how she uses explanation to help community members understand her role as a sales manager and her associated expectations of them as customers. She explains:

There was a problem in making them [community members] understand, they have been used to these free goods that you gave them, so when you start to sell them, they get irritated... I make them understand that these goods I am selling, I buy them with money, then with my own effort I carry them on my back to this place so as to bring service closer to you. So instead of us forcing [payment], why can't we make sure the ways are smooth, you pay, I render service and sell goods to you.

Founders also use explanation to increase understanding and acceptance of new expectations to repay goods on credit in a timely manner, as opposed to taking a long time to pay or avoiding payment altogether, which was historically common with livestock loans. Nosilale (Case #13), for example, works to increase understanding and acceptance of repayment expectations by explaining to community members that if they do not pay for goods taken on credit, she will not be able to continue to supply their needs. She says, “You talk to them to pay you back”, which the local translator clarifies as:

You explain to them the effects of delaying without paying their debts... You also explain to them just kindly pay my debt so that we will continue [to provide goods].

Mayani (Case #9) similarly uses explanation to increase understanding and acceptance of her sales manager role and counterrole expectations regarding payment. Like Nosilale, she explains to community members that she will not be able to restock if they do not pay for goods taken on credit. She explains, “You will tell them you want to buy new stock, but you don’t have money for that... I have to tell them that I am in need of that money [to maintain business].” In addition, when Mayani implements the new behavior of charging accumulating interest on money loans and goods on credit, she uses explanation to ensure community members understand her new behavior and her new expectations of them, saying, “I let them know that if you take this long, I have to charge you this amount [increasing interest].” Similarly, Silapini (Case #7) must work to increase understanding and acceptance of interest on money loans and goods on credit. As she explains, “They have been informed [by me about interest]” and further explains:

There was negative attitude towards the interest. We give them goods and the conditions to pay, and when you tell her that this is your credit you can pay [with interest], they become mad at you.

Thus, while she works to increase understanding and acceptance through explanation, she continues to experience resistance and therefore must use additional mechanisms in her external identity work, which are explained in the following sections.

Of the 10 exemplary cases that follow the balancing or transforming pathway, nine cases (#4-11,13) provide examples of how they use explanation to educate other community members about

new behaviors and expectations in order to increase understanding and acceptance, and ultimately change perceptions of who they are as a founder. Table 10 provides additional founder data illustrating the mechanism of explanation for external identity work.

Enforcement as a Mechanism for External Identity Work

Founders who use enforcement as a mechanism for external identity work rigidly reinforce new behaviors and expectations through their actions to change perceptions of who they are as a founder. For example, Hurisha (Case #6) reinforces his new behavior and expectations related to charging interest on money loans by refusing to loan money if community members do not accept his terms. As he explains, “If someone won’t pay [interest], you don’t give, but someone who agrees with those terms can get it [money loan].” Sabdio (Case #11) similarly reinforces her new behaviors and expectations by refusing requests for goods on credit and money loans if borrowers do not accept her terms, which include strict payment rules for goods on credit and interest on money loans. With respect to goods on credit, she explains, “They decide to abide by my rules [to pay in 2 days] or I will chase them away.” With respect to money loans, she explains, “They go and think about it, if they will accept the offer [with interest] or not, they will go bearing in mind that I charge interest on the amount I gave.” In another example, Mayani (Case #9) charges interest on goods on credit, and like the previous cases, she also refuses to provide goods on credit if customers do not agree to pay the interest, even if it means she initially loses customers. She explains:

It might happen that when you just stick to your rule [charging interest on goods on credit] they will go to those people that they don’t charge interest and they buy the stock and maybe they finish, then they will come to you because there is no stock there.

Mayani also refuses to help someone again if they do not pay as expected, explaining, “If you delay and have issue in paying, I will not give you [again]”, and enforces payment of credit through reminders, explaining, “When I hear that they are going to sell a goat in the market I remind them that they have debt to repay.”

These founders therefore work to enforce their new behaviors and expected counterrole behaviors, thus reinforcing who they are as founders to other community members. Of the 10

exemplary cases that follow the balancing or transforming pathway, six cases (#5,6,7,9,11,12) provide examples of how they use enforcement to rigidly reinforce new behaviors and expectations through their actions, and ultimately to change perceptions of who they are as a founder. Table 10 provides additional founder data illustrating the mechanism of enforcement for external identity work.

Leveraging Authority Figures as a Mechanism for External Identity Work

Founders who leverage authority figures as a mechanism for external identity work seek assistance from respected others to help reinforce new behaviors and expectations, and therefore help change perceptions of who they are as a founder. For example, Mayani (Case #9) leverages the police to ensure community members meet payment expectations for goods on credit. As she explains:

Let's say an old man comes to you and begs you that his children have not taken food and your children are enjoying [food]... "so please give me something small that I can take to them so that they can cook and eat, I will pay you when I get"... and when you ask him to pay he will fight with you and that time it will be a police case.

She also seeks support from the village chief if community members do not pay as expected. As she explains, "I will just go and report the matter to the chief and tell them how he took my stuff and failed to pay them back. I have to tell them, I am in need of that money." Sabdio (Case #11) similarly leverages authority figures to help reinforce new behaviors and expectations, however rather than seeking support from those with more formal authority, she seeks support from husbands of women who delay or avoid payment of goods on credit or money loans. She explains:

Instead of fighting with her [for payment], I just took her to her husband who dealt with her. You can also use them [community elders], but the best one is to use the victim's husband rather than to humiliate her in public.

These founders therefore leverage respected authority figures in the community to reinforce who they are as founders to other community members. Of the 10 exemplary cases that follow the balancing or transforming pathway, three cases (#6,9,11) provide examples of how they leverage authority figures to help reinforce new behaviors and expectations, and therefore help change

perceptions of who they are as a founder. Table 10 provides additional founder data illustrating the mechanism of leveraging authority figures for external identity work.

External Identity Work Smooths the Path for Other Founders

As described above and illustrated in Table 10, founders following the balancing or transforming pathway use a combination of mechanisms as they work to increase understanding and acceptance of new behaviors and expectations, and ultimately to change community member perceptions of who they are as founders. There are indications that as more founders engage in this type of external identity work, a larger number of community members come to understand and accept new behaviors and expectations associated with new founder identities, thereby increasing their legitimacy and smoothing the path for others to become hybrid or individualist founders. For example, as previously described, Nasanten (Case #8) initially prioritized her extant social safety net role of sharer and became a collectivist founder. However, over time, she shifts to the transforming pathway and becomes an individualist founder. Nasanten was observed over time as being someone who watches what others do and eventually imitates them, as opposed to being a leader or first mover in her community. The early external identity work of other founders in her community helped increase acceptance and understanding of new behaviors and expectations and therefore smoothed the path for Nasanten to become an individualist founder.

Over time, the majority of the 25 founders in the sample similarly shift to the transforming pathway and become individualist founders. However, some founders continue to follow the maintaining pathway whereby they retain their collectivist founder identity, and others do not shift beyond the balancing pathway, thus retaining a hybrid founder identity. The pathway a founder follows, and therefore who a founder becomes, was found to be regulated by the degree of internalization and importance of extant identities that become part of what it means to be a founder in addition to other social identities held by the founder. These regulating identities are discussed in the following section.

Table 10: External Identity Work Among Exemplary Cases*For Founders Following the Balancing and Transforming Pathways*

Case #	Founder	Illustrative Founder Data
1	Loltepes	Not applicable (maintaining pathway)
2	Dararo	Not applicable (maintaining pathway)
3	Christopher	Not applicable (maintaining pathway)
4	Kureya	Explanation: Educates others on the role of bank borrower so they understand and accept her new behavior of not sharing/loaning bank money. She explains, "Some will understand others won't, you will tell some that this is a [bank]loan money."
5	Jennifer	Explanation: Educates others about interest. When asked if she explains interest to borrowers, she replies, "Yes." Enforcement: Refuses requests for money loans if borrowers do not accept the added interest. She explains, "You will give [money loans] and they will know that they need to pay with the interest. If they don't want to [pay interest], then they leave it."
6	Hurisha	Explanation: Educates others about interest and his new behaviors and expectations regarding interest. He explains, "You make them understand that you want them to pay with an interest." Enforcement: Refuses requests for money loans if borrowers do not accept the added interest. He explains, "If someone won't pay [interest], you don't give, but someone who agrees with those terms can get it [money loan]." Leveraging Authority Figures: Leverages husbands of female borrowers to reinforce new behavior and expectations. For example, when there are issues with payment of goods on credit, he explains, "I take goats from the people," which the local translator clarifies as: "He reports them [wives who borrowed] to the husband, and they go and demand and tell them they need to pay."
7	Silapini	Explanation: Educates others about interest and her new behaviors and expectations regarding interest. She explains, "They have been informed [by me about interest]" and further explains, "There was negative attitude towards interest. We give them goods and the conditions to pay, and when you tell her that this is your credit you can pay [with interest], they become mad at you." Enforcement: Refuses requests for money loans if borrowers do not accept the added interest. She explains, "I also get mad at her if she doesn't pay back [with interest]," which the local translator clarifies as: "She says she had to struggle with some of them, they either pay me [with interest] or I told them this is your last chance to come borrow from me." She also enforces payment of goods on credit, explaining, "You will have to force them pay so that it won't affect your business."
8	Nasanten	Explanation: Explains her new behaviors to others so they will understand and accept them. For example, when she refuses requests for goods on credit or handouts, she explains she has faced hardships with her husband and needs to maintain her business to care for her children. As she explains, "They know that I came after staying away for a long time, I left everything that I was doing. They know that the kids are just expecting help from me, they don't have any other breadwinner." The local translator clarifies: "She says that she will explain to them so that they know what happened, that I went to stay at another place, I am trying to bring things to them, so I will continue with business."
9	Mayani	Explanation: Educates others on why they need to pay for goods on credit. She explains, "You will tell them you want to buy new stock, but you don't have money for that... I have to tell them that I am in need of that money [to maintain business]." She also educates others about interest and her new behaviors and expectations regarding interest, saying, "I let them know that if you take this long, I have to charge you this amount [increasing interest]." Enforcement: Sticks to her rule of charging interest on goods on credit, even if it means she initially loses customers. She explains, "It might happen that when you just stick to your rule [charging interest on goods on credit] they will go to those people that they don't charge interest and they buy the stock and maybe they finish, then they will come to you because there is no stock there." (Additional detail in text) Leveraging Authority Figures: Leverages police and the village chief to reinforce new behaviors and expectations. She explains, "Let's say an old man comes to you and begs you that his children have not taken food and your children are enjoying [food]... 'so please give me something small that I can take to them so that they can cook and eat, I will pay you when I get'... and when you ask him to pay he will fight with you and that time it will be a police case." She also explains, "I will just go and report the matter to the chief and tell them how he took my stuff and failed to pay them back. I have to tell them, I am in need of that money."
10	Ramaten	Explanation: Educates others on her role of sales manager and associated expectations of others. She explains, "I make them understand that these goods I am selling, I buy them with money, then with my own effort I carry them on my back to this place so as to bring service closer to you. So

		instead of us forcing [payment], why can't we make sure the ways are smooth, you pay, I render service and sell goods to you." (Additional detail in text)
11	Sabdio	<p>Explanation: Educates others about interest and her new behaviors and expectations regarding interest. She explains, "They were wondering [questioning interest]... I was telling them that now that you have stayed with my money for a long time, I need it with interest." She also educates others that payment for goods on credit is needed so she can maintain her business. As she explains, "They know I am ferrying goods from town with a motorbike that needs money," which the local translator clarifies as: "She explains to them that I need this money to purchase my things and also to pay the bills."</p> <p>Enforcement: Refuses requests for goods on credit and money loans if borrowers do not accept her terms. With respect to goods on credit, she explains, "They decide to abide by my rules [to pay in 2 days] or I will chase them away." With respect to money loans, she explains, "They go and think about it, if they will accept the offer [with interest] or not, they will go bearing in mind that I charge interest on the amount I gave."</p> <p>Leveraging Authority Figures: Leverages husbands of female borrowers to reinforce new behaviors and expectations. She explains, "Instead of fighting with her [for payment], I just took her to her husband who dealt with her. You can also use them [community elders], but the best one is to use the victim's husband rather than to humiliate her in public."</p>
12	Seneka	<p>Enforcement: Maintains her new behavior of not sharing business goods even if others do not accept it and are angry. When asked if they get mad at her when she refuses handouts, she replies, "Yes, but I still don't give them."</p>
13	Nosilale	<p>Explanation: Educates others on why they need to pay for goods on credit. She explains when people delay or avoid payment, "You talk to them to pay you back," which the local translator clarifies as: "You explain to them the effects of delaying without paying their debts... you also explain to them just kindly pay my debt so that we will continue [to provide goods]."</p>

REGULATING IDENTITIES

Regulating identities are social identities that influence which pathway a founder follows and therefore who they become as a founder. Analysis of founder statements and combinations of founder responses and identities revealed four main social identities that regulate who a founder becomes, which are the collectivist social identity, curse believer social identity, adapted curse believer social identity, and religious believer social identity. Founders for whom the collectivist social identity is strongly internalized and important follow the maintaining pathway. When the collectivist social identity is less internalized and important, founders follow the balancing pathway if they have a curse believer social identity and follow the transforming pathway if they have an adapted curse believer social identity or a religious believer social identity that negates the belief of curses. This section details these regulating social identities and their influence on the pathway a founder follows, including illustrations from founder data, which are arrayed in Table 11.

Collectivist Social Identity as a Regulator

As previously described in the section on Extant Identities, all founders in the sample have an extant collectivist social identity based on the fundamental value of nkanyit, which "dictates a certain selflessness, evenhandedness, and cool-headedness, giving everyone their due even if it is at your

expense” (Holtzman, 2009, p. 122). However, as described, there is a duplicity associated with nkanyit whereby individuals must clearly and visibly demonstrate values of mutual aid and generosity, even if they do not fully internalize them or they secretly engage in selfish behavior (Holtzman, 2009). Therefore, founders internalize the extant collectivist social identity to varying degrees and some hold it as higher in importance than others. Founders who fully internalize and place high importance on the extant collectivist social identity, continue to maintain this identity as central to who they are as a founder, regardless of business education, exposure, and experience. These founders do not adjust their founder identity over time, but rather maintain a collectivist founder identity and run their business in a way that prioritizes helping others over business continuity, profit, and savings. For example, as previously detailed in the section on Pathways and Outcome Identities, Loltepes (Case #1) fully internalizes and places high importance on her extant collectivist social identity. When she is asked about those who value business over helping others, she replies, “That alone [business] is not very important... In our culture we help each other. You will help those who are less fortunate while doing business.” Christopher (Case #3) is similar, explaining, “The community needs you” and describing himself as someone who “doesn’t know how to say no to some people,” which the local translator clarifies as: “He has that heart to give out, so when people ask him, he gives.”

As previously described, both these founders follow the maintaining pathway and become collectivist founders who embody values of mutual aid and generosity as part of who they are as a founder, as well as emphasize extant social safety net role identities. They maintain their collectivist founder identity over time regardless of business education, exposure, and experience because of their internalization of, and importance placed on, their extant collectivist social identity. They therefore continue to run their business in a way that prioritizes helping others regardless of the impact on their business. As illustrated in Table 5, all three exemplary cases with a collectivist founder identity (#1-3) have a regulating collectivist social identity. Table 11 provides additional founder data illustrating this regulating identity. In contrast, founders for whom the extant collectivist social identity is less internalized and important shift to the balancing or transforming

pathway with business education, exposure, and experience. However, the pathway they follow, and therefore who they become as a founder, is regulated by other social identities that are salient for them, which are discussed in the following sections.

Curse Believer Social Identity as a Regulator

The curse believer social identity is associated with beliefs and behaviors that are differentiated from those of the non-curse believer social category. Founders with a curse believer social identity believe others can harm you with curses if you have wronged them in some way, if they are angry with you, or even if they are just envious. Curses are an inherent part of the culture and are interwoven with the norms of behavior (Spencer, 1959). They are often caused not by strangers, but by family members and friends who are greedy, jealous, spurned, or denied a favor (Fratkin, 2012). They are believed to be invoked through malicious thoughts, by a mere look, or cast verbally or with the help of gestures or ritual objects (Schlee, 2017; Spencer, 1959). For example, as Holtzman (2009) describes:

The danger of greediness and not sharing properly goes beyond a simple matter of etiquette, involving questions of life and death. Indeed, ‘May you die of your own food’ (*Mikiwa ndaa ino*) is the archetypical Samburu curse. The wages of retaining something that is rightfully someone else’s or of valuing your stomach over your fellows’ are inevitably death. (p. 132)

Harm can also be invoked through medicine men, referred to as ‘Laibons’, who have the ability to divine the future, issue curses, protect one from curses, or give ‘medicines’ to defeat enemies (Fratkin, 2012). For example, Fratkin (2012) provides a quote from a local Laibon describing a ‘medicine’ called nkurupore, which can be used to harm others:

You can put nkurupore in someone’s tea, or mark his house, or even mark the tracks people walk on. Nkurupore can drive a man mad, it can kill his cattle. It can cause his wife to be barren, it can make you blind or lame. Even someone can die – he’ll fall sick, be attacked by a lion, or meet with madness and kill himself. (p. 83)

Thus, if one does not demonstrate the value of nkanyit associated with the collectivist social identity and fulfill expectations associated with their social safety net role identity, they risk being cursed. Founders with an extant curse believer social identity are therefore compelled to maintain emphasis on some characteristics of their extant identities as part of their identity as a founder as

they adopt and emphasize new identities due to business education, exposure, and experience. These founders therefore follow the balancing pathway but do not shift to the transforming pathway because their curse believer social identity dictates that they retain some emphasis on their extant identities. For example, as detailed in the previous section (Pathways and Outcome Identities), Jennifer (Case #5) follows the balancing pathway whereby she emphasizes some extant identities and some new identities. While she refuses to share or lend bank loan money and charges interest on loans of her own money to generate additional profit, she also prioritizes helping needy community members through goods on credit and handouts of business goods, even if it means covering them herself. As she explains, “Some come to borrow maize flour even if it is half a kilo and I pay that” (per Table 9). She continues to prioritize her social safety net roles of credit provider and sharer because of her fear of curses. For example, she explains:

We just buy some sugar [for them] because they are poor, we can't afford to say no [because they will curse you]. I am afraid to say no to my people that have nothing and are my relatives, we share at times the food... They are others who are cursing especially when they have no food.

Similarly, Hurisha's (Case #6) pathway is regulated by his curse believer social identity. While he limits goods on credit and charges interest on money loans, thus emphasizing his new sales and financial manager role identities, he continues to prioritize his extant social safety net role of sharer over these new identities. He explains, “There is a poor member of the community and you can't tell her to just go away without giving her something like a hundred shillings so that she can feed her children” (per Table 9). Like Jennifer, Hurisha continues to prioritize some of his social safety net roles because of his fear of curses. As he explains, “You give them thirty shillings to buy sugar, so they don't curse you.” He further explains, “The people in the satellite villages are the bad lot in that [curses]. They are hard to send back empty handed [because they will curse you].”

As previously described, both these founders follow the balancing pathway and become hybrid founders who maintain emphasis on some characteristics of their extant identities while also emphasizing some characteristics of their new identities. They maintain their hybrid founder identity over time regardless of business education, exposure, and experience because of their curse believer

social identity. They therefore continue to run their business in a way whereby they try to juggle helping needy community members and maintaining business and generating profit and savings, without optimizing either. As illustrated in Table 5, all four exemplary cases with a hybrid founder identity (#4-7) have a regulating curse believer social identity. Table 11 provides additional founder data illustrating this regulating identity.

Adapted Curse Believer Social Identity as a Regulator

Founders with an adapted curse believer social identity continue to believe in and fear curses, however, they do not believe curses apply to business resources and practices. Rather, they have learned and believe, through business education and exposure, that business goods are meant to be sold and the pursuit of profit and savings through business is justified. As such, behavior like rejecting demands for handouts of business goods is not considered to constitute wrongdoing to another person, making any attempted curses ineffective. For example, as with all founders in my study, Ramaten (Case #10) had a curse believer social identity prior to business education and exposure as it is an inherent part of the culture. However, she learned that pursuing profit and savings through business is justified. Therefore, while she continues to believe in curses, she does not believe they apply to business resources and practices. As she explains, “There is curses, but everything has its own way. I am afraid of it too, but when it comes to business, it's business.” Founders with an adapted curse believer social identity therefore follow the transforming pathway and become individualist founders because they do not fear repercussions in the form of curses if they do not prioritize helping needy community members over business continuity, profit, and savings.

As described in the previous section (Pathways and Outcome Identities), Nasanten (Case #8) follows the transforming pathway and becomes an individualist founder whereby she emphasizes an individualist social identity and new business role identities with respect to who she is as a founder. She only provides goods on credit to community members who earn a salary, explaining, “I give to those people who have salaries because they will pay me” (per Table 9). She also refuses to share goods from her business, restricting handouts to personal items only, saying, “I give them food but

not from the business” (per Table 9). Her adapted curse believer social identity allows her to follow the transforming pathway to become an individualist founder. When asked if she is worried about curses when she denies requests, she replies, “I am afraid, but it can't be that way, the person can't curse you just because you didn't do anything bad to them [by not giving goods on credit or handouts of business goods].”

Similarly, Mayani (Case #9) can follow the transforming pathway because of her adapted curse believer social identity. As previously detailed, she also emphasizes an individualist social identity and new business role identities with respect to who she is as a founder, resulting in her refusing handouts and charging interest on money loans and goods on credit. While she fears curses, she does not believe they apply to business, explaining, “For the curses, as long as I have refused to give out things which belong to me [business goods], even God [traditional God, not formal religion] will not question me.”

As previously described, both these founders follow the transforming pathway and become individualist founders who run their business in a way that prioritizes business continuity, profit, and savings over helping others. They can follow the transforming pathway and become individualist founders because of their adapted curse believer social identity. As illustrated in Table 5 three of the exemplary cases (#8-10) with an individualist founder identity have a regulating adapted curse believer social identity. Table 11 provides additional founder data illustrating this regulating identity.

Religious Believer Social Identity as a Regulator












Founders with an extant religious believer social identity describe themselves as Christian, Catholic, Muslim, or more generally as a ‘churchgoer’ and embody the norms, values, and beliefs associated with these formal religions, in contrast to the traditional belief in a general God or collection of guardian spirits. Kureya (Case #4), for example, refers to herself as a churchgoer who adheres to the norms of attending church to pray. She explains, “Some go to church and others don’t – they ask what we are going to do in the church, and we tell them we go to pray.” She also holds a curse believer social identity, explaining:

When some come passing by from the marketplace, they come and borrow water, I would readily offer them because of the curses, even if it's small that is left with you. The people are very bad here when it comes to that [curses].

In Kureya's case, being a religious believer does not impact her belief in and fear of curses, which continue to shape her behavior. This is not the case for other founders for whom their religious believer identity negates the belief in curses and therefore the ability to be impacted by them. For example, Seneka (Case #12) describes how her religious believer identity negates the belief in curses, saying, "I am not afraid [of curses] because I have just said I can't be able to help. I don't believe in such things, I am afraid of [Catholic] God." Therefore, like founders with adapted curse believer identities, those who do not believe in curses because of their religious identity follow the transforming pathway because they do not fear repercussions in the form of curses if they do not prioritize helping needy community members over business continuity, profit, and savings.

For example, as illustrated in Table 5 and detailed in Table 9, Sabdio (Case #11) follows the transforming pathway to become an individualist founder. She charges interest on money loans, limits handouts of business goods, and limits goods on credit and enforces strict repayment rules. She can follow the transforming pathway because her religious believer social identity negates the belief in curses. When asked about being cursed if she does not help others, she explains, "There is nothing like that [curses] because when you're giving or not giving, these [business] goods are your own goods and you can do what you feel like to them. For me I don't believe in that [curses]." The local translator clarifies, "She is saying she doesn't believe in that [curses] because she is a church going person." Similarly, Nosilale (Case #13) can follow the transforming pathway because of her religious believer social identity. She is able to selectively provide goods on credit and refuse handouts of business goods (per Table 9) because she does not believe in curses. As she explains, "I just believe in God. The Christians fear God and not the curses." As illustrated in Table 5, three of the exemplary cases (#11-13) with an individualist founder identity have a regulating religious believer social identity that negates the belief in curses. Table 11 provides additional founder data illustrating this regulating identity.

Table 11: Regulating Identities Among Exemplary Cases

Case #	Founder	Regulating Identity	Illustrative Founder Data
1	Loltepes		Internalizes and places high importance on her extant collectivist social identity, leading her to prioritize her extant credit provider and sharer role identities. When she is asked about those who value business over helping others, she replies, "That alone [business] is not very important... In our culture we help each other. You will help those who are less fortunate while doing business."
2	Dararo		Internalizes and places high importance on her extant collectivist social identity, leading her to see business as a way to help others and therefore prioritize her extant social safety net roles. For example, she explains, "Even if someone comes to borrow from you now, you have something to give [from the business]."
3	Christopher		Internalizes and places high importance on his extant collectivist social identity, leading him to provide goods on credit and handouts even if it impacts his business. He explains, "The community needs you" and describes himself as someone who "doesn't know how to say no to some people," which the local translator clarifies as: "He has that heart to give out, so when people ask him, he gives."
4	Kureya		Believes if she does not help those who are needy, something bad will happen to her, which leads her to prioritize some of her extant social safety net role identities (credit provider & sharer). She explains, "There is something like that [curses]. People can make your stomach pain just because of what you have and that their children are hungry. You will be afraid of a man the age of your dad who comes and tells you his children are starving. You won't have the guts to let him go empty handed." (Additional detail in text)
5	Jennifer		Believes if she does not help those who are needy, something bad will happen to her or her children, which leads her to prioritize some of her extant social safety net role identities (credit provider & sharer). When talking about needy community members she explains, "We just buy some sugar [for them] because they are poor, we can't afford to say no [because they will curse you]. I am afraid to say no to my people that have nothing and are my relatives, we share at times the food... They are others who are cursing especially when they have no food."
6	Hurisha		Believes if he does not help those who are needy something bad will happen to him or his family, which leads him to prioritize one of his extant social safety net role identities (sharer). As he explains, "You give them thirty shillings to buy sugar, so they don't curse you." He further explains, "The people in the satellite villages are the bad lot in that [curses]. They are hard to send back empty handed [because they will curse you]."
7	Silapini		Believes if she does not help those who are needy something bad will happen to her. When asked if she can reject requests for handouts, she explains, "It's hard because I am afraid of her [issuing curses] and maybe her children have nothing like food, and it's bad also to chase someone who is needy and you're in a position to help. I just help and swallow the credit alone." The local translator clarifies: "She is saying that actually it happens people get mad and some of them become very hungry, but for her she fears curses... I fear people looking at me eating alone. So, it's not easy because she says that people can kill you with your food."
8	Nasanten		Believes in curses and fears them but does not believe they apply to business resources and practices, which allows her to restrict goods on credit and handouts. She explains, "I am afraid [of curses], but it can't be that way, the person can't curse you just because you didn't do anything bad to them [by not giving goods on credit or handouts of business goods]."
9	Mayani		Believes in curses but does not believe they apply to business resources and practices, which allows her to reframe her extant credit provider and money lender roles and remove her role of sharer. For example, she explains, "For the curses, as long as I have refused to give out things which belong to me [business goods], even God [traditional God, not formal religion] will not question me."
10	Ramaten		Believes in curses but does not believe they apply to business resources and practices, which allows her to stop sharing business goods and stop providing goods on credit. As she explains, "There is curses, but everything has its own way. I am afraid of it too, but when it comes to business, it's business."
11	Sabdio		Does not believe in curses because of her religious identity, which allows her to emphasize her new sales and financial manager identities. When asked about being cursed for not helping others, she explains, "There is nothing like that [curses] because when you're giving or not giving, these [business] goods are your own goods and you can do what you feel like to them. For me I don't believe in that"

			[curses].” The local translator clarifies, “She is saying she doesn’t believe in that [curses] because she is a church going person.”
12	Seneka	+	Does not believe in curses because of her religious identity, which allows her to stop sharing business resources. As she explains, “I am not afraid [of curses] because I have just said I can’t be able to help. I don’t believe in such things, I am afraid of [Catholic] God.”
13	Nosilale	+	Does not believe in curses because of her religious identity, which allows her to prioritize business continuity, profit and savings over demands for goods on credit and stop sharing business goods. As she explains, “I just believe in God. The Christians fear God and not the curses.”

 Collectivist
  Curse Believer
  Adapted Curse Believer
  Religious Believer

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

CHAPTER INTRODUCTION

I examined how founder identities emerge and change in contexts of extreme poverty through a longitudinal, qualitative study in Northern Kenya where impoverished pastoralists are newly introduced to business. My study finds three types of founder identity emerge that include constellations of social and role identities, which are salient for founders in their work. The three types of founder identity are a collectivist founder identity emphasizing a collectivist social identity and extant social safety net role identities, an individualist founder identity emphasizing an individualist social identity and new business role identities, and a hybrid founder identity emphasizing characteristics of both the collectivist and individualist founder identities. Hybrid founders sit along a continuum between the two pure founder identity types depending on the degree to which they emphasize characteristics of the collectivist versus individualist founder identity. The founder identity an individual holds shapes how they run their business. Collectivist founders run their business in a way that prioritizes helping community members over business continuity, profit, and savings, whereas individualist founders conversely prioritize business continuity, profit, and savings, and hybrid founders try to juggle helping community members and maintaining business and generating profit and savings, without optimizing either.

The three founder identities emerge through distinct pathways characterized by different combinations of founder responses to conflict that arises between extant role identities and new role identities introduced through business education and exposure. Pathways that diverge from extant deep-rooted values, norms, and expectations require founders to engage in external identity work to increase understanding and acceptance of new behaviors and expectations, and ultimately change perceptions of who they are as a founder. The pathway a founder follows, and therefore who they become as a founder, is regulated by the degree of internalization and importance of extant identities that become part of what it means to be a founder in addition to other social identities held by the founder. Founders for whom the collectivist social identity is strongly internalized and

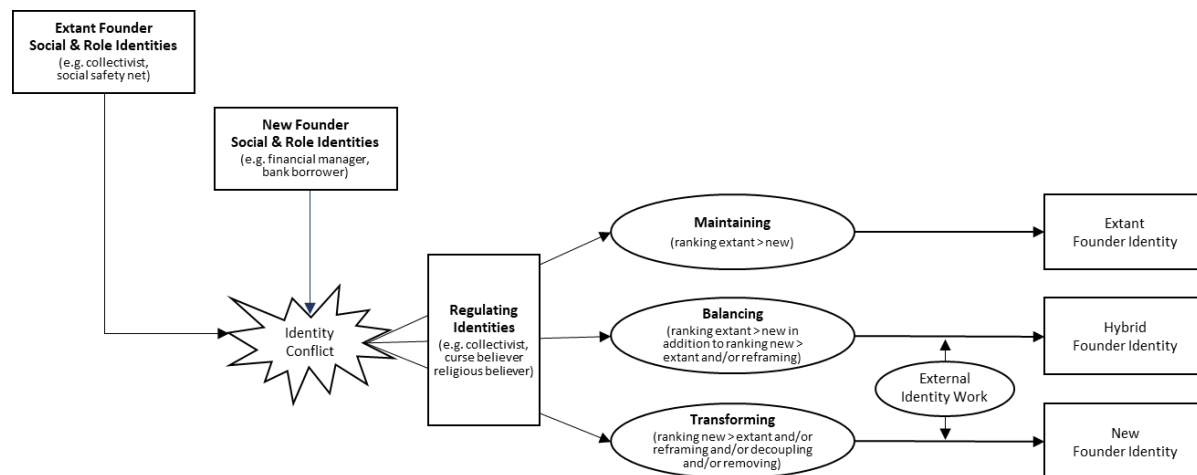
important follow the maintaining pathway and become collectivist founders. When the collectivist social identity is less internalized and important, founders follow the balancing pathway and become hybrid founders if they have a curse believer social identity. Alternatively, they follow the transforming pathway and become individualist founders if they have an adapted curse believer social identity or a religious believer social identity that negates the belief of curses.

The findings of my study are not limited to remote pastoralist communities in Kenya where business itself is nascent. There are indications from cross-referencing other studies that my model of founder identity emergence is likely to apply to different settings in other countries where business is not nascent, but where a collectivist founder identity already exists and new business roles and norms are introduced. For example, in their study of entrepreneurship in contexts of poverty in Ghana, Slade Shantz et al. (2018) identify an existing dominant founder identity that emphasizes a collectivist social identity including values of mutual aid and associated social safety net roles. Slade Shantz et al. (2018) describe that these founders “may be able to become aware of and even discard these ‘appropriate’ roles and functions, particularly if they disembody themselves, either physically or emotionally, by exposing themselves to alternate occupational templates” (p. 433), therefore potentially leading to the emergence of new founder identities through a process similar to that modeled in my findings.

In addition, elements of my model are generalizable to broader contexts, such as the role of regulating identities in founder identity change, which could explain variance in founder identity change in extant studies in developed country contexts. For example, regulating identities could provide additional explanation as to why some founders adjust their identities in Powell and Baker's (2017) study while others do not under the same conditions. My findings also bring external identity work to the fore, which has been touched on in extant founder identity literature in developed country contexts (e.g. Anderson & Warren, 2011; Essers & Benschop, 2009; Powell & Baker, 2014; Zuzul & Tripsas, 2019). In my study, founders' external identity work was particularly important because founders had to defend their new behaviors in the face of community members' resistance, which was informed by still predominant collectivist norms and values. However, such resistance

may also have other sources within similar and differing contexts, such as founders' family members' perceptions of business and employee or business network perceptions of who a founder is and should be. Thus, my study suggests that founders' external identity work likely plays an important role in founder identity construction and change more broadly. A generalized version of my model of founder identity emergence is illustrated in Figure 6.

Figure 6: Generalized Model of Founder Identity Emergence



My findings contribute to the literature on entrepreneurship in contexts of extreme poverty by providing a more nuanced conceptualization of founder identity in these contexts, including identification of three types of founder identity based on different constellations of social and role identities. I also contribute to both the literature on entrepreneurship in contexts of extreme poverty and founder identity theory more broadly by explaining the process through which founder identities emerge, introducing regulating identities as an explanation for variance in founder identity change, and bringing external identity work to the fore as a key process in founder identity construction and change. My findings also highlight the importance of applying an identity lens to the study of entrepreneurship initiatives in contexts of extreme poverty.

These contributions will be divided into different articles as part of my future publication strategy and as such are detailed separately within this chapter. This chapter also includes study limitations and directions for future research, as well as practical implications, particularly for organizations that aim to stimulate and develop entrepreneurship in contexts of extreme poverty through education and access to resources.

CONTRIBUTIONS

My findings make five key contributions. First, I provide a more nuanced conceptualization of founder identity in contexts of extreme poverty, moving beyond a single broad identity to identify different types of founder identity based on varied constellations of social and role identities, which shape behavior in diverse ways. Second, I explain the process through which founder identities emerge, emphasizing the role of identity conflict and founders' responses to it in shaping who they become as a founder. Third, I explain variance in founder identity change through the introduction of regulating identities, demonstrating their role from both an SIDT and IDT perspective, as well as how they can adapt through education and exposure. Fourth, I bring external identity work to the fore as a key process in founder identity construction and change and identify three mechanisms founders use for external identity work. Finally, I highlight the importance of applying an identity lens to the study of entrepreneurship initiatives in contexts of extreme poverty to understand micro-level enablers and barriers to entrepreneurship development and possible unintended negative consequences. I elaborate on each of these contributions in the following sections.

Towards a More Nuanced Conceptualization of Founder Identity in Contexts of Extreme Poverty

Extant literature defines contexts of extreme poverty as those in developing and emerging economies where people live at life-threatening, subsistence levels (Sutter et al., 2019), earning less than \$US 1.90 per day (World Bank, 2016). Prior research in contexts of extreme poverty provides some insight into founder identity in these contexts, showing that it can be shaped by informal institutions such as collectivism and fatalism (Slade Shantz et al., 2018), as well as cognitive social capital (Viswanathan et al., 2014) and gender and mobile phones (Masika, 2017). Extant studies also demonstrate how founder identity shapes founder behavior and outcomes in these contexts. For example, in their study in rural Ghana, Slade Shantz et al. (2018) find that founder identity is shaped by informal institutions of collectivism and fatalism and is therefore associated with obligation and constraint. As such, founder behavior emphasizes diversion of resources to aid others, helping others with business (e.g. market linkage, mentor), and imitative as opposed to innovative behavior, thus limiting potential for business growth (Slade Shantz et al., 2018). In addition, Viswanathan et al.

(2014) find that subsistence founders in India craft an identity that reflects the broader identity of the community, leading to empathy for the struggles of customers, which results in founder behaviors such as accepting delayed payments and providing money loans.

Thus, there is some understanding of founder identity in contexts of extreme poverty, however, the literature is scant and nascent, and extant studies emphasize a single broad conceptualization of what it means to be a founder in these contexts and highlight how that founder identity limits potential for business growth. Little is known about diverse founder identities in these contexts and how they shape behavior in different ways. My study makes a significant contribution to the literature on entrepreneurship in contexts of extreme poverty by applying a combined SIDT and IDT lens through which I identify different types of founder identity that include varied combinations of social and role identities. I also demonstrate how different founder identities shape founder behavior in diverse ways.

My findings identify three types of founder identity in contexts of extreme poverty, which are the collectivist founder identity, the individualist founder identity, and the hybrid founder identity. The collectivist founder identity is characterized by a social identity that emphasizes the ‘personal we’ and thus includes values of mutual aid and generosity. It also includes both social safety net role identities and business role identities, where social safety net role identities are prioritized. Collectivist founders run their business in a way that prioritizes helping others over business continuity, profit, and savings.

The collectivist founder identity defined in my findings shares similarities with the communitarian founder identity identified by Fauchart and Gruber (2011) in that they both emphasize the ‘personal we’ as opposed to the ‘self’ and are therefore associated with a community-driven logic. However, whereas Fauchart and Gruber describe that the communitarian founder’s main social motivation as a founder is to “support and be supported by a community” (p. 942), and “bringing something truly useful to the community is perceived as critical” (p. 942), the collectivist founders in my study are driven by survival and select products based on imitation, availability, and profit potential. In addition, in contrast to Fauchart and Gruber’s communitarian founder identity,

the collectivist founder identity includes both a social identity that emphasizes the ‘personal we’ and role identities that are prioritized in a way that also emphasize the ‘personal we’.

The individualist founder identity, on the other hand, is characterized by a social identity that emphasizes the ‘self’, as well as emphasis on business role identities through de-prioritization of social safety net role identities, reframing of social safety net role identities to align with business role identities, or removal of social safety net role identities from one’s identity as a founder.

Individualist founders therefore run their business in a way that prioritizes business continuity, profit, and savings over helping others. The individualist founder identity defined in my findings is similar to the darwinian founder identity identified by Fauchart and Gruber (2011) in that they both emphasize the ‘self’ as opposed to the ‘personal we’ and therefore prioritize objectives like making money and creating personal wealth. However, unlike the darwinian founder identity, which underscores the social identity of the founder, the individualist founder identity is characterized by a constellation of both social and role identities, both of which emphasize self-interest rather than supporting community members.

While some founders hold either a collectivist or an individualist founder identity, other founders have a hybrid founder identity that includes characteristics of both pure identity types. In other words, they embody characteristics of the collectivist social identity as part of their founder identity; demonstrating values of mutual aid and generosity, while also embodying characteristics of an individualist social identity as a founder; emphasizing self-interest. They also hold both social safety net and business role identities where some social safety net roles are emphasized, and some business roles are emphasized. Hybrid founders sit along a continuum between the two pure founder identity types depending on the degree to which they emphasize characteristics of the collectivist versus individualist founder identity. They therefore run their business in a way whereby they try to juggle helping others and maintaining business and generating profit and savings, without optimizing either. While extant founder identity studies find that some founders hold hybrid identities that include characteristics of more than one social identity type as part of their identity as a founder (e.g.

Alsos et al., 2016; Fauchart & Gruber, 2011; Powell & Baker, 2017), my study extends this conceptualization to include combinations of both social and role identities.

Thus, whereas scholars primarily conceptualize founder identity in contexts of extreme poverty as a single broad identity that shapes behavior in a way that prevents growth (e.g. Slade Shantz et al., 2018), my findings provide a more nuanced conceptualization of founder identity in these contexts; identifying different types of founder identity based on varied constellations of social and role identities, which shape founder behavior and potential outcomes in diverse ways. More specifically, collectivist founders run their businesses in a way that prioritizes helping others over business continuity, profit, and savings, which is likely to prevent business growth. Conversely, individualist founders run their business in a way that prioritizes business continuity, profit, and savings, which is more likely to enable business growth. Alternatively, hybrid founders run their business in a way whereby they try to juggle helping others and maintaining their business and generating profit and savings, however they are unable to optimize either, which is likely to place limitations on their potential for business growth.

A Model of Founder Identity Emergence

The literature on entrepreneurship in contexts of extreme poverty provides indications as to what shapes founder identity (Masika, 2017; Slade Shantz et al., 2018; Viswanathan et al., 2014) and hints at the possibility that alternate founder identities could emerge under certain conditions (Slade Shantz et al., 2018). However, there is little understanding of the processes through which founder identities emerge in this context. I build on previous studies that suggest founder identities may be shaped by extant social identities that become salient to their founder identity (e.g. Essers & Benschop, 2009; Fauchart & Gruber, 2011; Slade Shantz et al., 2018; Viswanathan et al., 2014) or by requirement to take on pre-defined role identities in the context of their work (e.g. Mathias & Williams, 2014; Slade Shantz et al., 2018). My findings demonstrate that both extant social and role identities can become salient to what it means to be a founder and explain how these extant identities can conflict with new identities associated with being a founder, some of which may be required. Different combinations of founder responses to the identity conflict lead to the emergence

of different types of founder identity, which are comprised of varied constellations of both social and role identities. I therefore extend the work of Powell and Baker (2014) to explain how founder identities comprised of different social and role identities emerge.

My model emphasizes the role of identity conflict and founders' responses to it in shaping who they become as founders. Extant literature on identity conflict identifies various ways individuals manage conflict, which include ordering identities in terms of importance, renegotiating identity demands, cognitively decoupling or separating identities, and in some cases committing *identicide* (Ashforth et al., 2008). My findings show that founders apply similar responses to identity conflict as they construct their founder identity. More specifically, my findings show that founders re-order (rank) their extant social safety net role identities and their new business role identities in varied ways. In addition, some founders decouple extant social safety net role identities from their founder identity but continue to hold them as part of a non-founder identity. Some founders also apply the response of *identicide*, which I refer to as removing, whereby a founder completely kills off an extant identity. Some founders also reframe extant identities, which extends beyond the response of renegotiating identity demands highlighted in the extant literature (Ashforth et al., 2008) in that founders change the meaning of an extant role identity to align with a new role identity. This was illustrated in my data, for example, by founders who reframed their role of money lender from an emphasis on helping others into a profit opportunity. Reframing an identity is therefore a separate but associated response to that of renegotiation of identity demands.

Thus, while most of the identity conflict responses themselves are similar to those previously described in the identity literature, my findings identify a differentiated response of reframing. I also demonstrate that founders use varied and at times multiple responses as they construct their founder identity and that different combinations of responses lead to the emergence of different types of founder identity.

Extant founder identity literature in developed country contexts provides indications as to what shapes founder identity and why there may be differences across founder identities (Essers & Benschop, 2009; Fauchart & Gruber, 2011; Hoang & Gimeno, 2010; Hytti & Heinonen, 2013; Mathias

& Williams, 2017; Powell & Baker, 2014), and suggests founder identities may develop through interactions between multiple identities (e.g. Essers & Benschop, 2009). However, explanation is scant with respect to the processes through which diverse founder identities emerge. For example, Fauchart and Gruber (2011) demonstrate that a founder's existing social identity shapes who they become as a founder and therefore their founder identity type. They also suggest founders may switch from a pure identity (e.g. communitarian) to a hybrid identity (e.g. communitarian-darwinian) due to external pressures such as financial performance requirements from investors, but they do not explain the processes through which this new hybrid identity type emerges. My findings therefore extend founder identity theory more broadly by explaining how founder identities emerge through a process of identity conflict and resolution, triggered by the introduction of new identities associated with being a founder that conflict with extant identities, which are salient to who one is as a founder.

Regulators of Founder Identity Change

While there is an increasing number of entrepreneurship initiatives aimed at alleviating extreme poverty (Hall et al., 2012; Kistruck et al., 2013; London, 2007), there is surprisingly little research on how founder identity changes because of these initiatives and under what conditions. As previously described, the study by Slade Shantz et al. (2018) in Ghana depicts founder identity as being associated with obligation and constraint, thus restricting founders from investing into and experimenting with business, and limiting opportunities pursued and growth aspirations. However, Slade Shantz and colleagues' findings suggest that dis-embedded 'outsiders' are less restricted by the obligations and constraints, therefore opening the possibility for more innovative and growth-oriented entrepreneurship. They further suggest that founders who are embedded in the community (embedded 'insiders') could potentially discard 'appropriate' roles and functions if they are exposed to alternate identity templates and are able to dis-embed themselves either physically or emotionally. However, their data only 'hint' at this possibility and therefore call for further research to determine whether founder identity changes in response to exposure to alternate identity templates and when a founder will or will not change their founder identity.

My findings extend current understanding by demonstrating that some founders construct new founder identities when new roles and norms are introduced and emphasized through business education and exposure. My findings further suggest that as new roles and norms become increasingly diffused and accepted, more founders similarly construct new founder identities, but not all founders. Some founders maintain their extant founder identity or construct a hybrid identity whereby they both maintain characteristics of their extant founder identity and adopt characteristics of a new founder identity. Whether founder identity changes in response to business education and exposure, and to what degree, is regulated by the degree of internalization and importance of extant identities that become part of what it means to be a founder in addition to other social identities held by the founder.

More specifically, my data illustrate that when an extant collectivist social identity is strongly internalized and important for a founder, they are less likely to shift from their collectivist founder identity to a hybrid or individualist founder identity in response to business education and exposure. On the other hand, founders for whom the collectivist social identity is less internalized and important are more likely to change their founder identity, but to varying degrees depending on other social identities that are salient for them. Founders with a curse believer social identity, for example, only partially change their founder identity in response to business education and exposure because they fear repercussions if they do not retain at least some characteristics of who they were as a founder. They therefore become hybrid founders, with varying degrees of hybridity that sit along a continuum between the pure collectivist founder identity and the pure individualist founder identity. On the other hand, founders with an adapted curse believer social identity whereby curses do not apply to business or a religious believer social identity that negates the belief in curses can adopt an individualist founder identity because they do not fear repercussions in the form of curses if they change who they are as a founder.

My findings further suggest that business education and exposure can lead to adaptation of existing founder social identities that regulate founder identity change. More specifically, my data illustrate that through business education and exposure, a founder's curse believer social identity can

change to become an adapted curse believer social identity. This means they continue to believe in curses, but they do not believe curses apply to business resources and practices. Rather, they have learned and believe, through business education and exposure, that business goods are meant to be sold and the pursuit of profit and savings through business is justified. Therefore, they believe any attempts to curse them for behaviors and expectations that emphasize business continuity, profit, and savings will be ineffective. Founders whose curse believer social identity adapts in this way are more likely to construct an individualist founder identity in response to business education and exposure.

I therefore introduce regulating identities as an explanation for variance in founder identity change in contexts of extreme poverty where new roles and norms are introduced and emphasized through business education and exposure. However, my findings on regulating identities can also be applied to founder identity theory more broadly. Extant literature suggests that founder identity is dynamic and fluid as opposed to fixed and unchanging (Leitch & Harrison, 2016). As such there are calls for more research into the processes through which founder identity changes from one social category to another and if behavior changes along with it (Alsos et al., 2016), and from an IDT perspective, how within-work role identities shift in dominance over time and how these changes impact behavior (Mathias & Williams, 2017). Research is scant with respect to founder social identity category change and founder role identity dominance change (for exceptions see Cardon et al., 2005; Fauchart & Gruber, 2011; Powell & Baker, 2017), both of which are discussed separately in this section.

SIDT explains that social identities can be formed and reshaped for example through changes in surrounding social categories and social contacts (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002; Stets & Burke, 2000), as well as through various external trigger events (Alvesson et al., 2008; Alvesson & Willmott, 2002). Scholars examining individual founder identity change have applied SIDT to demonstrate that external pressures can lead to changes in a founder's social identity category (e.g. Fauchart & Gruber, 2011; Powell & Baker, 2017). For example, Fauchart and Gruber (2011) suggest a founder may shift from a pure communitarian to a hybrid communitarian-darwinian identity due to financial

performance requirements from investors. In their study of multi-founder nascent ventures, Powell and Baker (2017) find that enforcement of a collective identity prototype can lead to individual social ‘identity adjustment’ as founders seek to become more like the in-group prototype. They explain that identity adjustment is likely to occur when bonding develops between in-group members, which in their study develops through frequent face-to-face interaction. However, their data demonstrate some cases where individuals within these conditions do not adjust, leading to questions about individual differences in identity adjustment within similar conditions.

My study contributes to understanding variance in founder social identity change through the introduction of regulating identities. My findings show that founders in the same social identity category, who experience similar external triggers, respond differently over time. Whereas some founders maintain their initial identity, others transform to a new founder social identity category, and some combine and balance elements of both social identity categories to varying degrees, thus sitting at different points along a hybrid continuum between two pure social identity types. My findings suggest variance in founder social identity change, or identity adjustment (Powell & Baker, 2017), is related to different founder social identities that regulate change.

SIDT explains that social identification leads individuals to behave and act in ways that confirm their identities (Hogg & Terry, 2000). Behavior is also shown to be influenced by identity centrality, which refers to “the importance or psychological attachment that individuals place on their identities” (Settles, 2004, p. 487). My findings extend this understanding to founder social identity change by suggesting that when founders have an extant social identity that is strongly internalized and important, they are unlikely to engage in identity adjustment when they experience external triggers. In contrast, founders for whom their extant identity is less internalized and important are more likely to adjust their founder social identity when they experience external triggers. However, the degree to which they adjust is regulated by other social identities that are salient for them. I further demonstrate that changes in a founder’s social identity category, either partially or fully, are associated with changes in how the founder runs their business. This is demonstrated in my data by founders who partially adopt individualist social identity characteristics

as part of their founder identity (hybrid founders) and change how they run their business, whereby they juggle helping needing community members and maintaining business and generating profit and savings. This is also demonstrated by founders who fully adopt individualist social identity characteristics to define who they are as a founder (individualist founders) and change how they run their business; prioritizing business continuity, profit, and savings over helping others.

Regulating identities therefore help explain whether a founder engages in social identity adjustment in response to external triggers and if so to what degree, thereby regulating who a founder becomes and how they run their business. My findings thus extend theory on founder identity change from an SIDT perspective by providing an explanation for why founder social identity adjustment varies in response to similar external triggers and by demonstrating that founder behavior changes along with changes in a founder's social identity category.

My findings also contribute to theory on founder identity change from an IDT perspective. Extant studies show that founders have multiple simultaneously held within-work role identities, which can conflict, vary in dominance, and shape decision making (Mathias & Williams, 2017). While prior research suggests some founder role identities may shift in dominance at varying stages of a venture (Cardon et al., 2005), there is limited explanation of how role identities shift in dominance over time, how changes in dominance impact behavior, and why changes may differ across founders in similar conditions. The longitudinal nature of my study allows me to build on extant findings by demonstrating and explaining shifting dominance of founder role identities and associated behavior change, as well as how these changes are regulated by other identities.

There are indications that most founders in my study initially construct a collectivist founder identity, characterized by a collectivist social identity and prioritization of associated social safety net role identities over business role identities. Founders who internalize and place high importance on their extant collectivist social identity, maintain emphasis on their associated social safety net role identities, and as such their role identity dominance does not adjust over time. However, when a founder shifts to a hybrid or individualist founder identity, the process of change involves changing responses to identity conflict between extant and new role identities and therefore changes to role

identity dominance. My data suggest that changing responses to identity conflict occur in response to external triggers such as education, exposure, experience, and increasing diffusion and legitimization of new behaviors and expectations. However, other identities (e.g. curse believer, adapted curse believer, religious believer) regulate the degree to which a founder adjusts the dominance of their various conflicting role identities in response to the external triggers.

IDT explains that because role identities include a set of expectations around behavior, they by definition imply action (Callero, 1985). My findings extend this understanding to founder role identity dominance adjustment by demonstrating that as founders adjust the dominance of their various role identities, they enact the changes externally through new business practices and new expectations for counterrole behaviors. My findings therefore extend theory on founder identity change from an IDT perspective by explaining how role identities shift in dominance over time through changing responses to identity conflict in response to external triggers, as well as by introducing regulating identities as an explanation for variance in founder role identity dominance adjustment. I also demonstrate that founder behavior changes along with changes in role identity dominance.

My findings additionally extend the bridge between SIDT and IDT in the study of founder identity. Gruber and MacMillan (2017) argue that combining SIDT and IDT can provide a more complete understanding of founder behavior. However, in the extant identity literature SIDT and IDT have tended to be viewed as competing theories (Hogg et al., 1995), and prior research on founder identity has tended to apply either an SIDT lens (e.g. Fauchart & Gruber, 2011) or an IDT lens (e.g. Mathias & Williams, 2014), with some exceptions (e.g. Powell & Baker, 2014, 2017). For example, in their study of founders in resource constrained firms, Powell and Baker (2014) conceptualize founder identity as constellations of both social and role identities that are chronically salient to a founder in their day-to-day work. Powell and Baker further suggest that some founders use situations of adversity to create roles in their firms, which enable them to express previously suppressed social identities. I build on nascent bridging of SIDT and IDT in founder identity theory by similarly conceptualizing founder identity as a constellation of social and role identities, identifying different

categories of constellations, and demonstrating how other social identities can regulate both founder social identity adjustment and role identity dominance adjustment. My findings suggest an interrelationship between social identity adjustment and role identity dominance adjustment where changes in founder social identity and changes in founder role identity dominance are linked.

External Identity Work in Founder Identity Construction and Change

My findings also contribute to the literature on entrepreneurship in contexts of extreme poverty and founder identity theory more broadly by highlighting the external tension or resistance founders experience as they construct a founder identity that is not aligned with extant values, norms, and expectations, and the important role of external identity work in changing perceptions of who they are as a founder. A number of scholars highlight the importance of, but lack of emphasis on, external identity work (e.g. Leung, Zietsma, & Peredo, 2014; Watson, 2008), which is work an individual engages in, through talk and action, to influence how others see them (Watson, 2008). While some studies on founder identity refer to founder talk or action that could be considered external identity work (e.g. Anderson & Warren, 2011; Essers & Benschop, 2009; Powell & Baker, 2014; Zuzul & Tripsas, 2019), external identity work itself is not specifically emphasized. For example, Powell and Baker (2014) find that some founders respond to adversity by constructing new roles that express previously suppressed social identities and in some cases will “seek out new [network] members and try to get these new ties to see them in the light of their new roles” (p. 1427). However, they do not specifically discuss the different mechanisms, or combinations of mechanisms, these founders use as they work to influence how others see them.

SIDT explains that social identification leads individuals to behave and act in ways that confirm their identities (Hogg & Terry, 2000) and IDT explains that because role identities include a set of expectations around behavior, they by definition imply action (Callero, 1985). I extend this understanding to founder identity construction and change by demonstrating that as individuals construct new founder identities, they engage in new behaviors and have new expectations of others (i.e. expectations for counterrole behavior). Founders experience external tension or resistance to new behaviors and expectations that do not align with existing perceptions of who they are and how

they should behave. Founders must therefore actively work to increase understanding and acceptance of new behaviors and expectations, and ultimately to change how others perceive them as a founder.

This is illustrated in my data by founders who follow the balancing or transforming pathways to become hybrid or individualist founders respectively. In doing so, these founders implement new behaviors and counterrole expectations, such as charging interest on money loans and expecting borrowers to repay with the interest in a specified timeframe. However, they experience resistance to the new behaviors and expectations, which do not align with external perceptions of who they should be as a founder, based on extant collectivist and social safety net identities. These founders use mechanisms of explanation (talk), enforcement (action), and leveraging authority figures (action) to increase understanding and acceptance of new behaviors and expectations and facilitate construction of new founder identities. My study therefore brings external identity work to the fore as a key process in founder identity construction and change and identifies three mechanisms founders use for external identity work.

The Importance of Applying an Identity Lens to Studies of Entrepreneurship Initiatives

According to the World Bank (2016), hundreds of millions of people continue to live under the current benchmark for extreme poverty, which is less than US\$1.90 per day. One of the solutions proposed to alleviate extreme poverty is entrepreneurship (Bruton et al., 2013). As such, development organizations have increasingly focused on stimulating and developing entrepreneurship in these contexts (Kistruck et al., 2013; London, 2007). However, many interventions have not produced the desired results (Alvarez & Barney, 2014; de Mel et al., 2014; Stenholm et al., 2013). Prior work has examined barriers to entrepreneurship associated with human capital (e.g. Alvarez & Barney, 2014; Berge, Bjorvatn, & Tungodden, 2015; de Mel et al., 2014), financial capital (e.g. Bradley, McMullen, Artz, & Simiyu, 2012; Chliova et al., 2015), formal institutions (e.g. De Castro, Khavul, & Bruton, 2014; Mair, Marti, & Ventresca, 2012; Rivera-Santos et al., 2015), and informal institutions (Slade Shantz et al., 2018). However, as discussed, few studies apply an identity lens. This is surprising given entrepreneurship initiatives seek to stimulate or change

founder behavior and SIDT and IDT suggest that perceptions and behavior of founders will be shaped by identity (Callero, 1985; Hogg & Terry, 2000; Stryker & Burke, 2000).

While resource constraints, institutional gaps, and informal institutional influences are important barriers that need to be addressed to enable entrepreneurship to fulfill its potential to alleviate extreme poverty, I argue founder identity is also an important factor that needs to be considered. My findings suggest the identities that are salient for founders in their work shape founder behavior and the emphasis they place on business maintenance and growth. My findings also suggest other identities that are salient for founders may regulate changes in founder identity, whereby some salient identities may facilitate change while others limit change and can therefore thwart behavior change efforts of development organizations.

In line with other studies that identify unintended negative consequences of entrepreneurship initiatives that aim to alleviate extreme poverty (e.g. Banerjee & Jackson, 2017; Dolan & Rajak, 2016; Hall et al., 2012), my findings also suggest a potential dark side, particularly as many development interventions seem to overlay Western notions of entrepreneurship, which include more individualistic values, norms, and behaviors, onto extant deep-rooted collectivist identities. This can lead to both internal identity conflict for founders, as well as external tensions within the community when founder behavior deviates from community expectations. These tensions can be exacerbated when development initiatives target only a subset of a community, leading to a lack of common understanding of new roles, including new founder behaviors and expectations with respect to counterroles. Founders may end up torn between community expectations and development organization expectations, leading to varying degrees of change and in some cases rejection of change. Founders who do change their behaviors and expectations in ways that deviate from expected norms are likely to face resistance in the community and therefore must actively work to increase understanding and acceptance of new behaviors and expectations, as well as perceptions of who they are as a founder.

In addition to internal conflict and external tension that founders may have to manage, another potential unintended negative consequence of initiatives based on Western individualistic

values, norms, and behaviors is reduced assistance for needy members of the community. Extant literature on contexts of extreme poverty highlights the important role of the ‘moral economy’ and social capital in providing a social safety net for survival; albeit also serving as barriers to getting ahead (e.g. Barrios & Blocker, 2015; Berner et al., 2012; Venkatesh, Brown, & Bala, 2013). My findings suggest that when founders adopt an individualist founder identity in response to business education and exposure, they change how they run their business whereby they prioritize business continuity, profit, and savings over helping others. While these behaviors may lead to outcomes that align with impact measures of development organizations, my findings hint at the possibility of emergence of economic stratification among the poor and emphasis on social capital development and maintenance within one’s strata, thus reducing assistance for the very poor. However, I am cautious not to imply that founders who adopt an individualist founder identity become completely immune to the plight of fellow community members in need. While they may prioritize business continuity, profit, and savings over helping others, some founders may help the needy in other ways whereby they blend assistance and profit generation (e.g. contributions to savings groups that earn profit from group loans, offering work for pay or food) or continue to assist in a personal capacity as opposed to a business capacity (e.g. share personal goods but not business goods).

My findings therefore contribute to the literature on entrepreneurship in contexts of extreme poverty by highlighting the value of applying an identity lens to understand micro-level enablers and barriers to entrepreneurship development in these contexts. In addition, my findings challenge the appropriateness of interventions based on Western individualist conceptualizations of entrepreneurship and highlight the tensions resulting from overlaying these onto deep-rooted alternate ways of being and behaving (i.e. collectivist identities). My findings therefore point to the importance of being aware of and attending to extant identities and potential identity dynamics in the development and implementation of entrepreneurship initiatives in contexts of extreme poverty.

STUDY LIMITATIONS AND DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

As with any study, my study also has limitations in that it is conducted in one location, with multiple sites, in Northern Kenya. However, there are indications from cross-referencing other studies that similar founder identities are likely to emerge through processes like those outlined in my model in other contexts of poverty where a collectivist identity is dominant and there is limited prior business education (e.g. Slade Shantz et al., 2018). These settings are not necessarily limited to developing countries but may also be found in some immigrant, rural, or indigenous communities in developed countries. While these conditions are prominent in my study, additional research is needed to determine if there are boundary conditions of the process modeled in my findings. Similar research is therefore encouraged in settings with different conditions, for example where another dominant type of founder identity already exists (e.g. individualist or darwinian) and founders experience education and exposure to other roles and norms (e.g. green entrepreneurship, exposure to the plight of poor communities, requirements for sustainability roles).

In addition, while my findings identify three types of founder identity in contexts of extreme poverty, these are likely not exhaustive. As such, future research could identify additional types of founder identity in these contexts and the constellations of social and role identities that characterize them, as well as how they impact founder behavior. Also, while my findings link different founder identities with behaviors that can potentially either prevent, limit, or enable business growth, emphasis is on the behaviors themselves and not on actual growth outcomes, which can be impacted by a variety of other factors such as diversification versus growth strategies, gender roles, and differential access to business development services, credit, and social networks (Berner et al., 2012), as well as environmental conditions such as drought. Future research is therefore needed to determine whether collectivist, hybrid, and individualist founder identities are associated with different levels of business growth.

Another fruitful avenue for future research is to examine the relationships between founder identity and other factors that influence growth outcomes. For example, do collectivist, hybrid, and individualist founders have differing strategies with respect to diversification of business versus

growing a single business? Do individualist founders seek out access to resources more than collectivist founders? Do they respond to environmental conditions like drought differently? Exploring these questions can further understanding of the links between founder identity and founder behavior, including behavior with respect to factors that typically keep founders stuck in a web of poverty, as well as resulting business growth, or at least business sustainability in contexts of extreme poverty.

My study also has some limitations in that all participants are part of the same NGO program and therefore experience similar business education. While this is useful to understand variance in founder identity change in response to similar external triggers, it is limited with respect to identifying which types of educational programs and content lead to greater or lesser degrees of founder identity change. Future research could therefore examine how founder identity changes in response to different educational formats and content. In addition, founders in my study were increasingly exposed to external founders, which further exposed them to new behaviors and norms. While the biggest influence appeared to be the educational program, it may be that founders were more eager to discuss the formal training because they tended to associate me with the program regardless of my attempts to be perceived as independent. As such, there is limited data to further our understanding of whether business education or exposure to other founders has greater influence on founder identity change, or whether one augments the other and if so, how. This may be a fruitful avenue for further research.

My study has brought external identity work to the fore as a key process in founder identity construction and change. In my study, founders' external identity work was particularly important because founders had to defend their new behaviors and expectations in the face of community members' resistance, which was informed by still predominant collectivist norms and values. However, such resistance may also have other sources in similar and different contexts, such as founders' family members' perceptions of business and employee or business network perceptions of who a founder is and should be. Future research could explore different sources of resistance to new or changing founder identities in diverse contexts and identify what mechanisms of external

identity work are used by founders to change perceptions of who they are as a founder, as well as how they differ in diverse situations and contexts. While my study highlights three dominant mechanisms of external identity work, which are explanation, enforcement, and leveraging authority figures, these are not assumed to be exhaustive and therefore it is expected that additional mechanisms will be identified through further research. In addition, future research could shed light on when one mechanism, or combination of mechanisms, is likely to be used by a founder and be more successful than another.

In addition, Powell and Baker (2014) note that founder identities are likely to include a myriad of different identities across different contexts. Thus, it is likely that different social and role identities that are salient for founders, may act as regulators of founder identity change in different contexts. However, the regulating social identities identified in my study are not limited to remote pastoralist communities in Northern Kenya. Adams and Dzokoto (2003), for example, highlight the prominence of the belief in juju (i.e. curses) across West Africa and Slade Shantz et al. (2018) find the belief in juju shapes founder identity and behavior specifically in Ghana. In addition, similar to my findings, Adams (2000) finds that respondents in Ghana believe adopting a religious believer identity (i.e. Christian) protects them from curses. Future research in these countries could further demonstrate how these specific social identities act as regulators of founder identity change, as well as identify other regulators of change beyond the social identity regulators identified in my study, which are not assumed to be exhaustive. This could include other social identities, role identities, and other factors that have a regulating effect on founder identity change, as well as whether and how these regulators are directly or indirectly shaped through business education and exposure.

A fruitful avenue for future research also exists in identifying other regulating identities and understanding how they influence founder identity change in other contexts and under what conditions. For example, regulating identities could help explain why founders in Powell and Baker's (2017) study respond differently to similar conditions, whereby some adjusted their identities and others did not. Fauchart and Gruber (2011) also suggest a pure communitarian founder may become a hybrid communitarian-darwinian founder because of external financial performance pressures

from investors. However, it may be that some founders in similar conditions adjust to become pure darwinians or do not adjust at all, which may be regulated by other identities that are salient for founders in their context (e.g. religious identity, community leader identity). In addition, while within-work role identity dominance is found to adjust based on stages of a venture (Cardon et al., 2005), there may be variance across founders at similar venture stages, which could be explained by regulating identities. Ideally, future research will continue to extend the bridge between SIDT and IDT in the study of founder identity and explore the interrelationship between founder social identity adjustment and role identity dominance adjustment, in combination with the regulating identities that influence these adjustments and interrelation between them.

Finally, my study focuses on founder identity and behavior change at the individual level and does not specifically explore broader changes on a community or collective level. As such my findings can only hint at impacts such as economic stratification and changes in collective identity. Future research is therefore needed to explore the links between entrepreneurship initiatives, founder identity and behavior change at the individual level, and broader community level changes, considering both positive and negative consequences.

PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS

My findings have several practical implications, particularly for organizations that aim to stimulate and develop entrepreneurship in contexts of extreme poverty through education and access to resources. Similar to studies of entrepreneurship education in wealthier contexts in developed countries (e.g. Hytti & Heinonen, 2013), I argue that entrepreneurship education is a context for founder identity construction. As such, organizations delivering entrepreneurship education need to be aware of what identities they are helping participants construct either directly or indirectly through training, mentorship, examples of success, and even through questions they are asked.

In addition, as previously discussed, my findings point to the importance of being aware of and attending to extant identities and potential identity dynamics in the development and

implementation of entrepreneurship initiatives in contexts of extreme poverty. Organizations are encouraged to understand what identities already exist and the meanings and expectations associated with them. For example, what meanings and expectations are currently associated with being a founder? Are there strong collectivist values or are they more individualist? Are there expectations to be a social safety net and if so, what form does this take? What other roles do people have that might be important and what meanings and expectations are associated with them (e.g. woman, parent, elder, daughter/son)? Are there religious or other beliefs that are important? Organizations are further encouraged to identify potential tensions between identities that are introduced and emphasized through their initiatives and the identities that already exist, as well as how existing identities may regulate behavior.

Initiatives should be tailored with existing identities and potential identity dynamics in mind as opposed to implementing a one-size-fits all initiative. Organizations are therefore encouraged to develop ways to help founders navigate internal identity conflicts and manage external tensions and resistance. However, ideally initiatives minimize conflict and tension/resistance by building on extant identities as opposed to simply overlaying alternate identities, as well as by bringing communities 'up' together rather than creating in- and out-groups within a community. Some scholars, for example, have started to explore potential alternatives to entrepreneurship approaches based on individualistic self-interest and economic maximization such as community-based enterprises (e.g. Peredo & Chrisman, 2006; Venkataraman, Vermeulen, Raaijmakers, & Mair, 2016), which are defined as "a community acting corporately as both entrepreneur and enterprise in pursuit of the common good" (Peredo & Chrisman, 2006, p. 310). Organizations are encouraged to consider these types of alternatives to stimulate and develop entrepreneurship on a community level.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

My thesis explores how founder identity emerges and changes in contexts of extreme poverty through a qualitative, longitudinal study of a nascent business context in Northern Kenya where impoverished pastoralists are newly introduced to business. Through interviews, observation, and review of anthropological accounts, I identified deep-rooted extant social and role identities that shape what it means to be a founder, as well as new identities introduced through business education and exposure, which conflict with extant identities. Deeper exploration of these identities over time led me to identify various responses to the identity conflict and to determine how different responses and combinations of responses lead to the emergence of different types of founder identity. Continued cycling through my data and the extant literature also led me to understand how founders manage external resistance to new behaviors and expectations that deviate from extant deep-rooted values, norms, and expectations as they construct new founder identities. I was also able to answer a complementary question of why founders adopt different founder identities, and retain or change their founder identity, in response to similar external triggers

The main contributions of my thesis are a more nuanced conceptualization of founder identity in contexts of extreme poverty, including three types of founder identity, a model illustrating the process through which founder identities emerge, emphasizing the role of identity conflict and founders' responses to it in shaping who they become as a founder, the introduction of regulating identities to explain variance in founder identity change, and the foregrounding of external identity work as a key process in founder identity construction and change. I also highlight the importance of applying an identity lens to the study of entrepreneurship initiatives in contexts of extreme poverty to understand micro-level enablers and barriers to entrepreneurship development and possible unintended negative consequences. Together these findings extend the literature on entrepreneurship in contexts of extreme poverty and founder identity theory more broadly and identify a series of important questions for future research on how founders become who they are.

My findings point to the importance of being aware of and attending to extant identities and potential identity dynamics in the development and implementation of entrepreneurship initiatives in contexts of extreme poverty. As such, my practical implications specifically address organizations that aim to stimulate and develop entrepreneurship in contexts of extreme poverty through education and access to resources.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: PARTICIPANT INTERVIEW OBJECTIVES AND QUESTIONS

Wave 0 (May 2016)

Objectives: Context and program understanding, including background on participants and their perceptions of the program

- Are you married? Do you have children?
- Can you tell me about a typical day, what you do from when you wake up until you go to bed?
- What do you do to earn an income?
- Tell me about the savings group?
 - How does it work?
 - What is your role in the savings group?
 - Are there any challenges with the group?
- How has being in the group changed things for you?
 - How do you view yourself differently since you have joined the group?
- Does the CBF come to the group?
 - What is their role?
- What would you like to achieve in the future?
 - What motivates you?
- Are there things you feel the NGO needs to understand better about you?
- Is there anything else you would like to tell me about what life is like here?

Wave 1 (November 2016)

Objectives: Explore participant identities and the influence of various NGO program components

For new participants

- Tell me about life here? What's going on around here?
- Tell me about yourself. Who are you?
 - Spouse/children?

For all participants

Role Identities and Time Allocation

- How do you spend your time? What do you do in a day/week?
 - What things are most important to you?
 - Are there other things you would like to do? What stops you?
- Where do you get money from?
 - What does it mean to be a <insert participant previous response>?
 - What made you choose to earn income this way?
 - Where did you learn the different activities to earn income this way?
- Are there other things you would like to do to earn income? What?
 - What stops you? What would you need?

Relationships/Influencers

- Tell me about the important relationships in your life?
- Who do you go to for information or advice? When/on what?
- Is there someone in particular you see as being successful? Tell me about them.
- How does your community support you in what you want to do? How does your community limit you?

Program Component Impact

- Tell me a story about what life was like before you started receiving the cash transfer
 - What is different now? Do you do things differently? Do you think about yourself differently?
- Savings group questions
 - Are you part of a savings group?
 - How many savings groups are you a part of? If more than one, what is the difference between them?
 - How long have you been participating in savings groups?
 - What do people in the community think about savings groups?
 - Why did you join this savings group?
- Tell me a story about what life was like before you were part of a savings group
 - What is different now? Thinking, behavior, things in community?
 - How much do you save?
 - Do you take loans? How often? How much? For what?
 - Have you learned anything new? What? What have you done with that information? How does that make you feel?
- Tell me about <CBF>
 - How would you describe him/her?
 - Why do they come see you? What is their role?
 - What has changed since he/she has been working with you?
 - What does he/she want you to do differently? What do they expect from you?

Other Topics

- Future vision for life? Aspirations? Future pathway?
- Are there things you want to learn?
- What are your perceptions of this project?
 - What is it trying to do?
 - What like/don't like about it?
- What do you think about banks?
 - Would you take a loan from a bank?
 - What would make you trust taking a loan from a bank?
- How is life here different for men and women?
- Is there anything else you would like to tell me about life here or about yourself?

Wave 2 (May 2017)

Objectives: Explore what it means to be a businessperson and the relationship between different identities

Meaning of Businessperson

- What does business mean to you? How would you describe a businessperson?
- What are the different things/activities a businessperson does?
- Has the way you think about/describe business changed over time? If so, what & why?
- If someone does not do business here, what do they do? What is the difference?
- Do people think differently about someone differently if they do business compared to if they do something else?

Self and Business

- Are you a businessperson?
 - If no
 - What is the difference between you and a businessperson?
 - Do you want to be a businessperson? Why? Why not?
 - Do you believe you can be a businessperson?
 - If yes
 - What makes you a businessperson?
 - Tell me the story of you and business
 - What did you do before business?
 - What made you start doing business?
 - What business did you start with and why?
 - How did you learn about that business?
 - How has your business changed over time and why?
 - How important is business to who you are as a person?
 - Have you changed as a person since you started doing business? How?

Others' Expectations and Other Roles

- Do people in the community expect things from you because you are a businessperson?
 - If yes, how do you manage expectations?
- What other things do you have to do as a man/husband/father or woman/wife/mother?
 - How do these things impact what you do in business (e.g. drive business? limit business?)
 - How do you manage these things and business?
- Are there differences between men and women in business?

Aspirations and Perceptions of Business Success

- Do you have a vision and goals for your business?
 - Did you have these before or are they new? Where did they come from?
 - How will you reach your goals?
- Tell me about someone you think is successful in business
 - What are they doing? What makes them successful?
 - What does it take to be successful in business?
 - How does seeing what they are doing influence how you think/do business?

Savings Group Identity and Impact

- Why did you join the savings group?
- Why do you stay in the group?
- Do you always attend the group meetings? Why / why not?
- Do you save outside the group?
- Why have you/have you not taken a loan from the group? If taken, what have you done with it?
- Has being in the savings group changed what you think about business? If so, what and how?
 - Has this changed how you do business? If so, how and why?
- Tell me about what you have learned recently in the savings group (probe on recent training)
 - Does it change the way you think about yourself?
 - Does it change the way you think about business?
 - Have you done anything differently since you learned these things?
 - Are there things you want to do differently?

Other social identities

- Tell me about the values that are important here as a culture/community
 - How do they help/hinder business?
- Have you seen changes in people or the community since the NGO project started?

Other

- Is there anything else you would like to tell me that I have not asked about?

Wave 3 (March 2018)

Objectives: Explore change and associated triggers, including identity content and relationships
(note: the numbers in parentheses represent survey questions included in the verbal/visual survey)

Beneficiary Identity

- What is a beneficiary? What does it mean to be a beneficiary?
- What do people in the community think about beneficiaries?
- Has being a beneficiary changed how you see yourself? How?

Savings Group

- What has been happening in your savings group?
- (13) How important is it for you to participate in the savings group?
 - How important was it one year ago?
 - Explore change
 - Are there things that stop you from participating in the savings group?
- Why do you stay in the savings group?
 - (14) after discussion summarize answer through questionnaire options.
 - Explore change
- Has being in the savings group changed how you see yourself? How?
- Have savings groups changed things in the community?

CBF

- What does <CBF> do?
- What do you think of him/her?

- What new things have you learned from the CBF? Impact?
- Who else do you go to/listen to for advice?

Business

- Are you (still) a businessperson? More/less/same? What business?
 - Explore change
- (8) How important is business to you?
 - How important was it one year ago?
 - Explore change
- Why do you want to run and grow a business?
 - (12) After discussion summarize answer through questionnaire options
 - + why first started
 - Explore change
- Are there new things you have learned about business? What? From where? Impact?
- How have you changed as a businessperson?
- (9) Do you feel you have the skills to run a profitable business?
 - How did you feel one year ago?
- (10) Do you feel you have the resources to run a profitable business?
 - How did you feel one year ago?
- Has doing business changed how you see yourself? How?

Business and Community

- Has doing business changed how you see yourself as a member of the community?
- What do people in the community expect from you as a businessperson?
 - Does this impact your business?
 - How do you balance between community member expectations and maintaining your business?
- Is business changing the community in any way? How? Impacts?

Business and Mother/Father

- Has doing business changed how you see yourself as a mother/father?
- How do you balance being a mother/father and doing business? Has this changed?

General Changes

- (1) How positive do you feel about yourself?
 - How positive did you feel one year ago?
 - Explore change
- (2) How positive do you feel about your value in the community?
 - How positive did you feel one year ago?
 - Explore change
- Has what it means to be a man/woman/widow/old person changed? How? Why? Impact?

Beneficiary Identity Maintenance

- (11) How motivated are you to continue to run and grow your business after the project ends?
 - How motivated were you one year ago?
 - Explore change
- Do you feel you still need the cash transfer?

- Do you think one day people will no longer need the cash transfer?

Future Outlook/Aspirational Identity

- (3) How optimistic are you about the future?
 - How optimistic were you one year ago?
 - Explore change
- (4) Do you have goals?
 - Did you have these goals one year ago?
 - What are your goals? Where did they come from?
- (5) How important is it for you to have goals?
 - How important was it one year ago?
 - Explore change
- (6) How confident are you that you can achieve the things that are important to you?
 - How confident were you one year ago?
 - Explore change
- (7) Do you feel you can overcome challenges that arise?
 - How did you feel one year ago?
 - Explore change

Other

- Is there anything else you would like to tell me that I did not ask you about?

Wave 4 (February 2019)

Objectives: Deep dive into tension between community expectations and business objectives, as well as sources of business learning

Business Status

- Are you still/now a businessperson? If changed, how/why?
- If yes, what businesses are you doing (individual & group)? Explore changes & why
- Is your business doing better or worse than before? How/why?

Business Learning, Sources and Impacts

- Many different organizations have come to help people in this area. Can you help me understand what they taught you about business?
 - What has <CBF> told you about what a businessperson should do? (Note what they have told me before)
- Who/where else have you learned things about business from?
- Explore perceptions & behaviors associated with learning these new things
 - What did you think when you first learned/were told this (e.g. agree/disagree, did/did not align with what you know/who you are/what others have said)?
 - Did you do something different right away or were you reluctant/hesitant? If yes, what did you do? If not, did you change your mind later? What made you change your mind? Explore the journey of what happened when & why.

Tension Between Community Expectations and Business Objectives

- When I was here last time people told me they want to grow their business and save more, but they struggle because people want help from them. I would like your help to understand this better.
 - Allow them to openly say anything in response
- What do people expect from you as a businessperson?
 - Refer to what they have told me previously and probe for various specific request types (handouts, goods on credit, money loans, contributions for fundraisers, information/advice)
- Do the requests impact your business?
- How do you respond to the requests?
 - Explore various request types discussed
 - Explore benefits and negative impacts of responses
 - Explore changes in responses over time
 - Why were the changes made?
 - Where were the changes learned (+ initial reaction to learning & the journey of what happened when & why)?
 - How did people respond when you changed (positive/negative)? How did that impact you? How did you manage it?
 - What happens if you do not respond the way people expect?
 - Explore social sanctions (e.g. curses, theft)?
 - Changes to relationships in the community?
 - Where do you go if you need help?
- What do you think of people who respond in a different way (use examples of contradictory responses to probe for perceptions of similarities and differences and what they think of them and the others)
 - Why do you think they do/can respond differently?

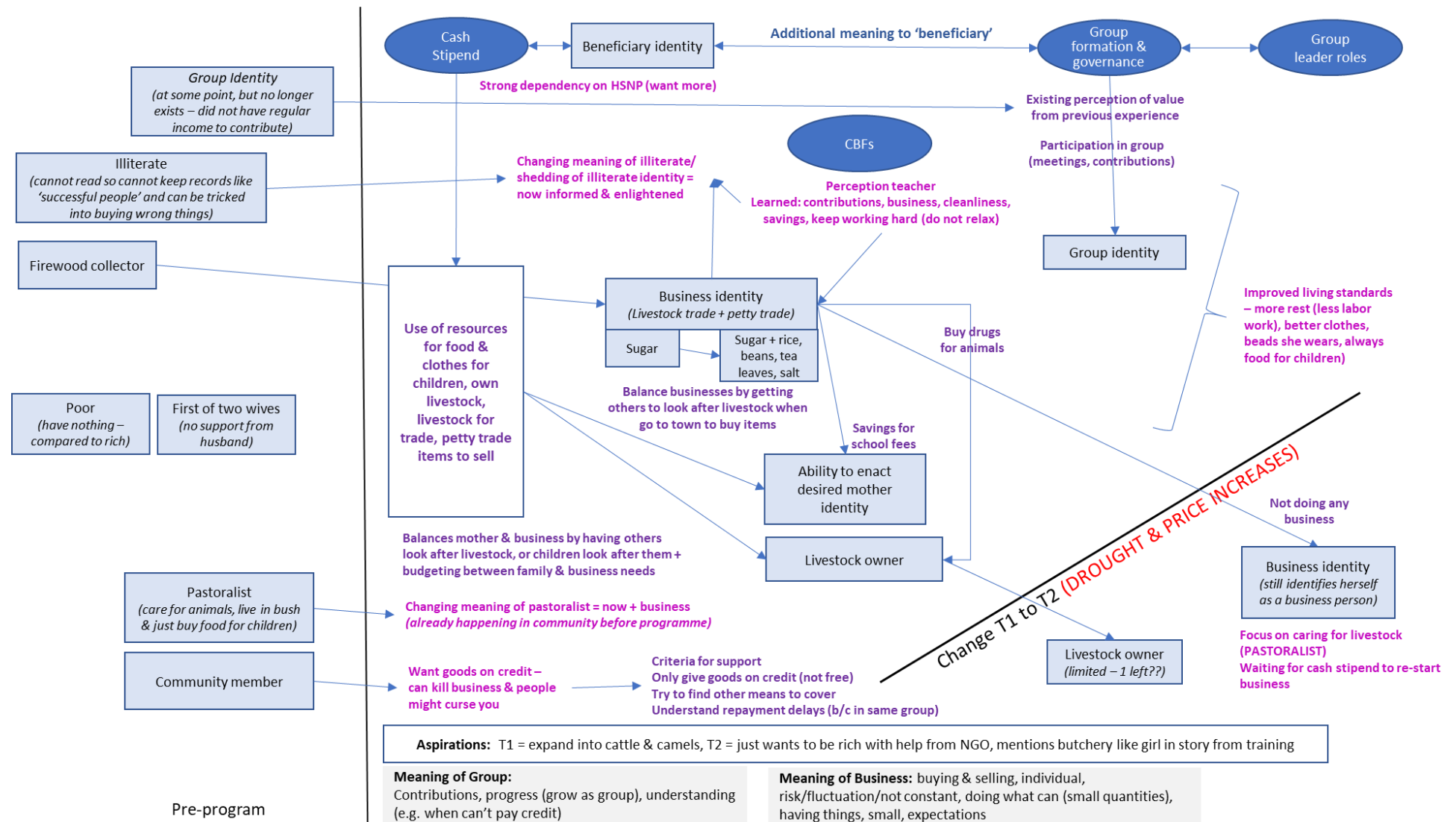
Community and Community Member Identity Changes

- Do people get jealous of you because you are doing business?
 - What do they do?
 - How do you manage that?
- Do you think business is/has changed things in the community? What? How?

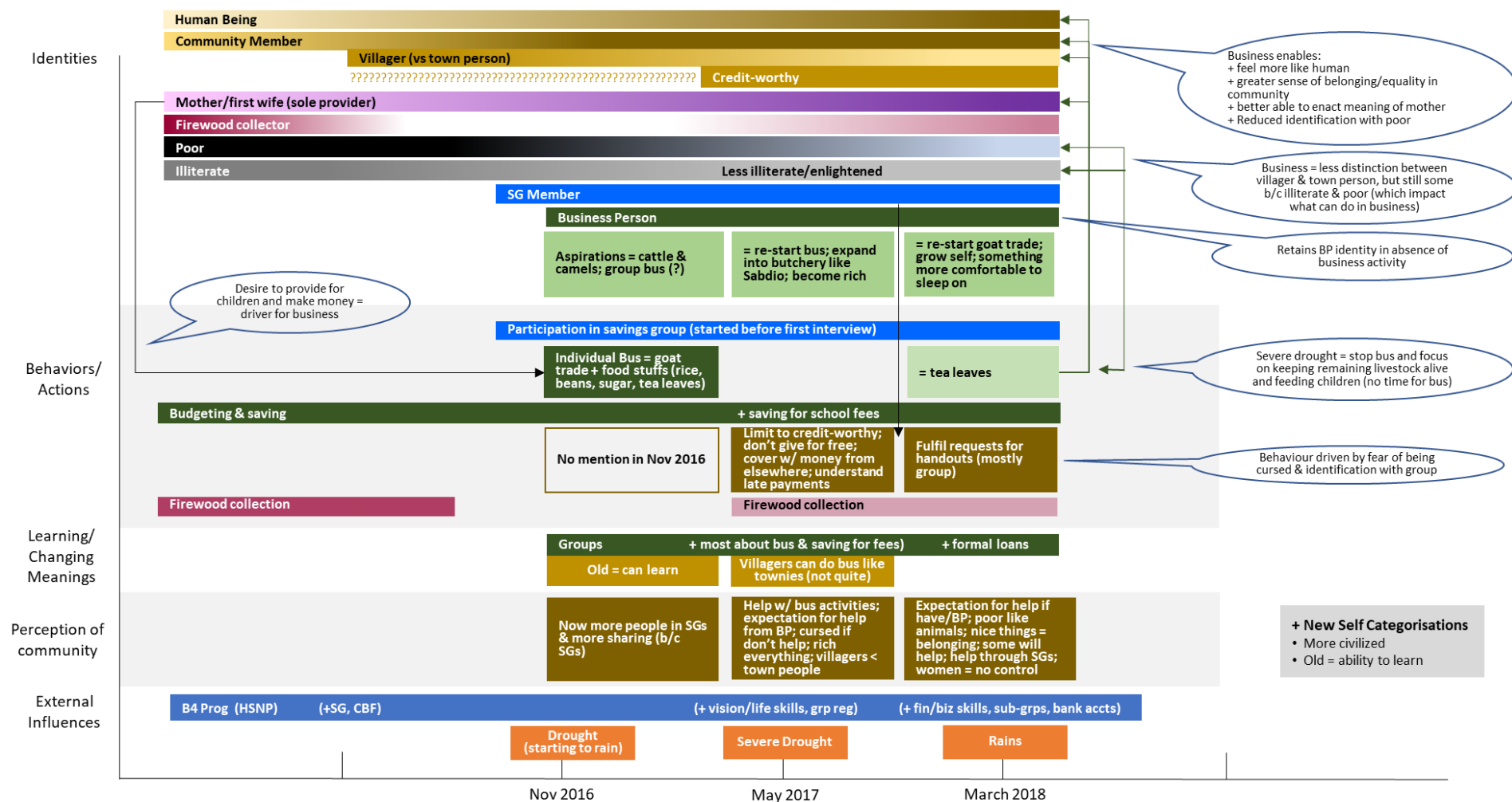
Other

- Is there anything else you would like to tell me about that I have not asked you?

APPENDIX B: EXAMPLE OF PICTORIAL PARTICIPANT IDENTITY STORY

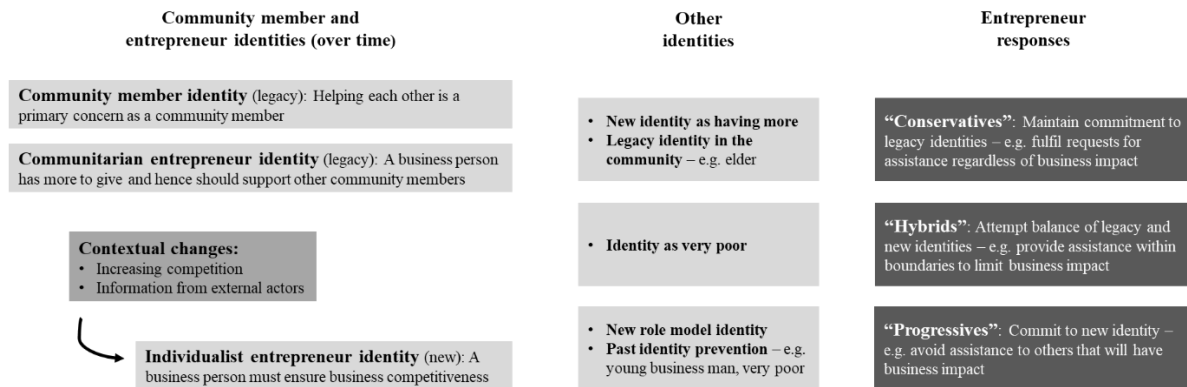


APPENDIX C: EXAMPLE OF PICTORIAL PARTICIPANT IDENTITY ANALYSIS



Identities excluded: student, pastoralist, religious

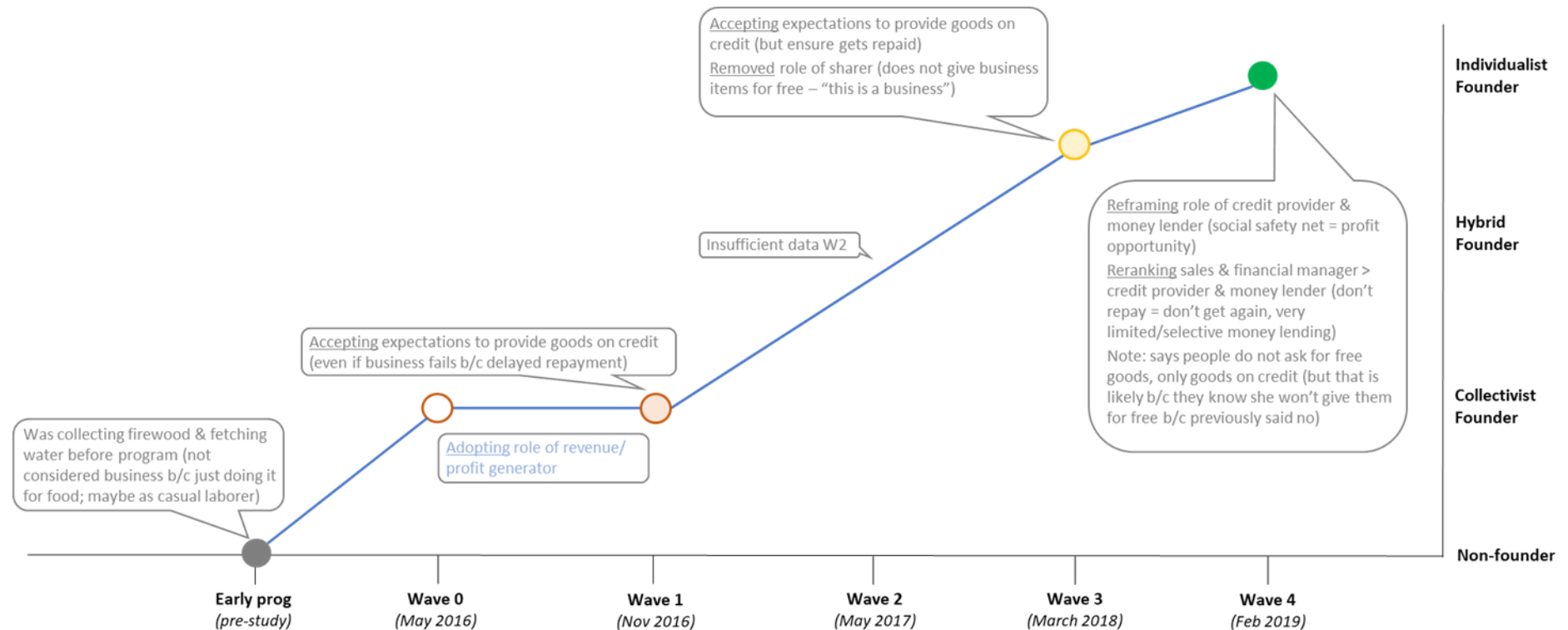
APPENDIX D: EARLY MODEL OF IDENTITY INTERACTIONS, CHANGES, AND RESPONSES



APPENDIX E: EARLY MODEL OF ENTREPRENEUR TYPES SHAPED BY INSTITUTIONAL LOGICS



APPENDIX F: EXAMPLE OF FOUNDER IDENTITY CHART



Role identities salient to daily work (discussed)	N/A	Credit provider, rev/profit generator, bus maintainer, borrower (group loan), saver (grp)	Rev/profit generator, bus maintainer	Credit provider, not sharer, bus diversifier, rev/profit generator, debt collector, bus maintainer, saver (grp, not ind)	Selective credit provider, selective money lender, interest charger (CP & ML), debt collector, bus maintainer, own customer
Main changes	Adopting role of revenue/profit generator	N/A	N/A	Chases people up for repayment; refuses to give items for free	Applying learning/experience with interest to role of CP, selectively giving credit & loans, maintaining strict rules
Potential reasons for changes	Learned definition of bus from CBF	Collective expectations for goods on credit (is the norm)	• N/A	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CBF challenging/redefining role of CP (& credit takers – they must repay) Removal of sharer, potentially from: • Training in W2 reinforcing rev/prof generator & saver • Changing collective prototype (less helping & dislike of borrowers) • Possibly drought hardships??? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Collective understanding of interest • Acceptance and support from leaders for role redefinitions (enforce repayment) • Possibly b/c learned about rules & fines in group (okay to reinforce) • Possibly b/c intro of bank borrower (CBF reinforces bus maintainer & rev/profit generator if want a bank loan)

APPENDIX G: EARLY MODEL OF FOUNDER IDENTITY EMERGENCE

